

The Century
Bible



Deuteronomy
Joshua

H. Wheeler Robinson, M.A.

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THE CENTURY BIBLE

DEUTERONOMY AND JOSHUA

THE CENTURY BIBLE

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DEUTERONOMY AND JOSHUA

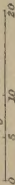


PALFESTINE

showing

SEATS OF THE TWELVE TRIBES
IN THE Xth CENTURY B.C.

English Miles





The Century Bible

GENERAL EDITOR :

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Deuteronomy and Joshua

INTRODUCTIONS

REVISED VERSION WITH NOTES

MAP AND INDEX

EDITED BY

H. WHEELER ROBINSON, M.A.

TUTOR IN RAWDON COLLEGE

LATE SENIOR KENNICOTT SCHOLAR IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

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THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY

INTRODUCTION

THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY

INTRODUCTION

I. CHARACTER, STRUCTURE, AND DATE.

THE Book of Deuteronomy can claim a unique place in the literature of the Old Testament, both on intrinsic and extrinsic grounds. Intrinsically, it is distinct from the narrative and historical, the legislative and ritual, the prophetic and devotional writings. Apart from the closing chapters, which are clearly of the nature of an appendix, the elements of direct narration are so slight as to be negligible; the review of history which the book contains is subordinated to a practical purpose. Though many laws are here recorded, they are for the most part so selected and presented as to be illustrations of a principle rather than elements in a code; whilst comparison with Leviticus will quickly convince the reader that the interest is moral rather than ritual. Affinity with certain of the prophets is unmistakable, nor is the tone of the book without many parallels in the devotional warmth of the Psalter; yet the unity of Deuteronomy is the product of principles rather than of personalities, principles emerging in a national, not merely an individual, experience. In short, we may most aptly compare the sustained and illustrated exhortation of this book with a sermon, if only the parallel convey no prejudice of dullness. It is a sermon so reported as to preserve the spiritual warmth of a Bernard preaching the Crusade, the flaming zeal of a Savonarola kindling the Florentine fire of vanities; whilst with this more passionate feeling

against idolatry there is a noble humanitarianism, a consideration for the stranger and the helpless, an appeal to deep human sympathies, not unworthy of a Francis of Assisi. These intrinsic qualities of the book are well matched by the comparative clearness of the light focussed on its first emergence into history. For once, at least, we are privileged to stand, if not by the very cradle of a Scriptural book, yet amid the circumstances of its presentation at court. We know quite clearly the date at which it has first to be reckoned with as a power in the history and religion of Israel. As a historical monument, it constitutes a welcome landmark amongst the obscurer paths of O.T. criticism.

The Book of Deuteronomy, as it now lies before us, consists of several addresses, professedly delivered by Moses to the Israelites in the land of Moab on the eve of their entrance into Palestine (i. 1-5, iv. 44-49, ix. 1, xxxi. 1 f.). To these are added four chapters (xxxii-xxxiv) narrating the appointment of Joshua in place of Moses (xxxii. 3 f., 14 f.), the writing down by Moses of the law just given (verses 9 f., 24 f.), and the ascent by Moses, at the command of God, of Mount Nebo (Pisgah), where he dies (xxxii. 48 f., xxxiv). In this narrative are incorporated two poems, the 'Song' (chap. xxxii) and the 'Blessing' (chap. xxxiii) ascribed to Moses and to this particular occasion. The following is a brief outline of the argument of the book itself, as distinct from its appendix.

Moses recalls the command to leave Horeb and the arrangements made for tribal government (i. 6-18). He describes the events which followed arrival at Kadesh-Barnea—the fear of the people to attack the Amorites, God's anger and sentence, the subsequent attempt of the people and their defeat (i. 19-46). The desert wanderings were resumed, until, after forty years, Divine permission being given, Israel returned and passed peacefully through the territory of Edom (ii. 1-8). Neither Moab (ii. 9-15) nor Ammon (ii. 16-25) was attacked, but Sihon of Heshbon was utterly defeated, and the Amorite

territory taken (ii. 26-37). A similar fate awaited Og of Bashan (iii. 1-11). The Israelites receiving the captured territory (iii. 12-17) were required to continue to fight on behalf of their brethren (iii. 18-22). Moses says that his own desire to enter Palestine has been refused through Divine displeasure (iii. 23-29). At this point, the present position of affairs having been reached, the review closes, and there follows an appeal for obedience to the Divine commandments (iv. 1-40). This is urged especially on the ground of their impressive deliverance at Horeb, when God's voice was heard, but His form was not seen—a fact meant to teach how unwarrantable it is to use images in the worship of God (iv. 1-25). If this lesson be not learnt, Israel will be scattered among the nations; yet, even there, penitence will secure return, for God has dealt in such particularity with Israel because He loves His chosen people (iv. 25-40). The first address of Moses ends at this point. There follows a brief note on the selection of three cities of refuge beyond Jordan (iv. 41-43), and an introduction to the second address of such a kind as to imply that no other has preceded it, the place and date being stated afresh. Moses begins by reference to the covenant of God with Israel in Horeb, and cites the Ten Commandments, in a somewhat varied form, as its basis (v. 1-21). The people then shrank from hearing the voice of God, and Moses was made the intermediary of further revelation (v. 22-33). He sums this up by declaring the God of Israel to be Yahweh alone, who is to be loved by His people; they are not to worship the gods of surrounding peoples, when they have taken possession of the plenty of Palestine, but to teach their children that all good, since the deliverance from Egypt, comes from Yahweh (vi. 1-25). The nations of Palestine, and the accompaniments of their heathen worship, are to be utterly destroyed; Israel is a peculiar people, claimed for Himself by the loving purpose of Yahweh (vii. 1-11). Obedience will ensure the Divine blessing: there is no need to fear these nations, for Yahweh, who worked for Israel in Egypt, will gradually dispossess them (vii. 12-26). Let Israel think of the discipline of the wilderness, lest Yahweh be forgotten in the prosperity of the good land He has given, for disobedience will mean destruction (chap. viii). It is not because of Israel's righteous-

ness, but because of the wickedness of these nations, that Yahweh is dispossessing them (ix. 1-7). At this point the argument is broken by a detailed description of the disobedience of Israel at Horeb, and the circumstances of the giving of the law (ix. 8—x. 5, 10, 11). A detached note is added, in regard to Israel's journeying and the separation of Levi (x. 6-9). The argument of the address is resumed by an earnest appeal for response to the requirements of Yahweh (x. 12-22). The hearers of Moses have themselves seen the work of Yahweh in the fate of Pharaoh, Dathan, and Abiram; let them, therefore, obey Him amid the prosperity of Palestine (xi. 1-12). That prosperity depends on the rain Yahweh gives from heaven, which He will withhold from those who worship other gods; but Israel's territory shall be won and held on the condition of loyalty to Him (xi. 13-25). So are a blessing and a curse set before Israel for choice, as shall be proclaimed on Gerizim and Ebal (xi. 26-32). With the twelfth chapter, the speaker passes to the direct enunciation of the statutes and judgements to be observed in Palestine, and to the primary requirement that there shall be one, and only one, sanctuary in the place which Yahweh shall choose, where all sacrifice shall be offered; when flesh is eaten elsewhere, the feast shall be non-sacrificial in character, the local sanctuaries and their accompaniments being destroyed (chap. xii). The sternest measures are to be taken against every incitement to the worship of other gods, whether from prophet (xiii. 1-5), relative (xiii. 6-11), or city (xiii. 12-18). The holiness of Israel is to be maintained by abstinence from cuttings for the dead (xiv. 1, 2) and from 'unclean' foods (xiv. 3-21). The tithe of the produce of field and herd is to be eaten at the one sanctuary; if the distance is too great, it may be sold locally, and the money used for purchases at the sanctuary; but the tithe of the third year is to be reserved for the Levite and the poor (xiv. 22-29). Every seventh year is to be marked, in regard to Hebrews, by the remission of debt (xv. 1-11), or of bondage, unless there is willingness to continue service (xv. 12-18). The firstborn of herd and flock, if perfect, is to be eaten at the sanctuary (xv. 19-23). The Israelite shall bring his offerings to the sanctuary three times in every year—viz. at the feasts of Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles (xvi. 1-17). No post

or pillar like those of the heathen cults shall stand by the altar of Yahweh (xvi. 21, 22), and the sentence on the idolater shall be death (xvii. 2-7). At this point, anticipated by a short section on the appointment of judges, which seems misplaced (xvi. 18-20), we pass from the 'statutes' or religious, to the 'judgements' or moral ordinances. Difficult cases are to be referred to the priests of the sanctuary (xvii. 8-13). The future king shall himself be an Israelite, and he is warned against the accumulation of horses, wives, or wealth; let him study this law and obey it faithfully (xvii. 14-20). The dues of the priests are named (xviii. 1-5), and also the right of country Levites to minister on equal terms in the sanctuary (xviii. 6-8). Resort may not be had to magic and divination; for special guidance the people shall depend on the line of prophets whom Yahweh will raise up in succession to Moses (xviii. 9-22). Cities of refuge, with right of sanctuary for unintentional manslaughter, will afford the protection hitherto given by local altars (xix. 1-13). Removal of a landmark and false witness are forbidden, the latter under severe penalty (xix. 14-21). Various provisions are made for the conduct of warfare (chap. xx), for the cleansing of a district from the stain of bloodshed (xxi. 1-9), for the treatment of women captives (xxi. 10-14), and for domestic problems (xxi. 15-21). There follow a number of detailed ordinances, dealing with such matters as lost property, sexual relations, admittance of non-Israelites into the community, loans, divorce, regard for the poor, Levirate marriage, and justice in trade (chaps. xxii-xxv). A ritual of thanksgiving to accompany the presentation of a basket of first-fruits at the sanctuary (xxvi. 1-11), and a form of declaration that the provisions of the third year of tithe have been observed (xxvi. 12-15), lead to a final exhortation to maintain the relations now established between Yahweh and His people (xxvi. 16-19). The address of Moses is broken at this point by a chapter (xxvii) which narrates the command to set up inscribed stones in Palestine, and to carry out a ritual of blessings and cursing on Gerizim and Ebal. The address of Moses continues, without introduction, in the following chapter, which develops the blessings of obedience, and the curses of disobedience, the latter at much greater length. The two remaining chapters form a third and distinct address of

Moses, which briefly refers to Egypt, the wilderness, and the victories won, and enforces the importance of the covenant now made between Yahweh and His people ; it will hold for the future, however men may think to neglect it with impunity. Other nations shall see, in the desolation of the land, the curse written in this book (chap. xxix). Yet, when blessing and curse have found their fulfilment, and Israel is scattered among the nations, penitent return to obedience shall secure the restoration of Yahweh's favour, and He will gather the outcasts from the uttermost parts (xxx. 1-10). A practical and certain issue is thus set before Israel, the issue between life and death, good and evil (xxx. 15-20).

Even so rapid a review as this of the salient points of the book will suggest that it can hardly have issued, in its present form, from the flowing pen of a single writer. To say nothing of the appendix, as a collection of various materials relating to the last days of Moses, the addresses do not afford any natural explanation of their threefold form. The statements introducing them seem to imply independence of origin ; the inter-relation of the subject-matter, as seen in obvious repetitions, and in less obvious differences of standpoint, confirms this impression. But since we are fortunate enough to be able to approach the book from the vantage-ground of external history, these points are best deferred till we have glanced at the narrative of the discovery of the Book of the Law in the Temple (cf. 2 Kings xxii).

In the year 621 B. C., being the eighteenth year of the reign of Josiah, who was then twenty-six years of age, Shaphan, the king's scribe or chancellor, had occasion to visit the Temple, in order to be present at the transfer of money, collected for repairs, to the overseers of the work. During this visit of Shaphan, Hilkiah the chief-priest said to him, 'I have found the Book of the Law in the house of Yahweh.' He gave it to Shaphan, who read it, apparently on the spot. On Shaphan's return to the king to hand in his official report, he said, after the business was done, 'Hilkiah the priest hath delivered me a book.' Shaphan read this to the king, who,

having heard 'the words of the Book of the Law,' rent his clothes. The king thereupon appointed what we should call a Royal Commission of five members to inquire of Yahweh, not concerning the authenticity of the book, which Josiah shows no sign of doubting, but as to what must be done in view of previous neglect of its commands. The commission consults Huldah the prophetess, whose 'Thus saith Yahweh,' in its present form, confirms the threats of the book, but promises Josiah that he shall himself be spared the sight of their fulfilment. It is probable, however, that the original prophecy of Huldah has been revised in the light of the Exile and its attendant calamities, and the original answer may have bidden Josiah proceed to carry out the requirements of the book without delay. This he does by gathering priests, prophets, and people in a great assembly, to which is read 'the Book of the Covenant which was found in the house of Yahweh.' King and people bind themselves to obey Yahweh and 'to establish the words of this covenant written in this book.'

The reformation of religion under Josiah is based explicitly on the discovered book, and we may infer the character of the book from the details of the reformation (2 Kings xxiii. 1-24). The result of this inference, as will be seen from the parallels to be cited, is to show that the fundamental document of the reformation of 621 B. C. is embedded in our present Book of Deuteronomy.

The reformation naturally begins with the centre of Israel's religious life, the Temple at Jerusalem. Methods of worshipping Yahweh borrowed from foreign cults are ended by the destruction of their means or accompaniments. This applies in particular to the Asherim or wooden posts by the altar (verse 6 : cf. Deut. vii. 5, xii. 3, xvi. 21), and the cells of the sacred prostitutes (verse 7 : cf. Deut. xxiii. 17). But not only foreign methods of worshipping Yahweh, but foreign objects of worship, have invaded the Temple and its precincts. The roof-altars of Ahaz, used in connexion with star-worship (Jer. xix. 13), and the altars of Manasseh for all the host of heaven (2 Kings xxi. 5),

together with the horses and chariots of sun-worship set up at the entrance to the Temple, have also to be destroyed (verses 11, 12 : cf. Deut. xii. 1-4 and iv. 19). Defilement awaits the sanctuaries of rival deities which have hitherto existed in the neighbourhood of the Temple: such are the place of human sacrifice by fire to Molech in the Valley of Hinnom (verse 10 : cf. Deut. xii. 31), and the high places erected by Solomon on the south-east of the city to the Sidonian Ashtoreth, the Moabite Kemosh, and the Ammonite Milcom (verse 13 : cf. (1 Kings xi. 7, 8) Deut. vi. 14). The Mazzeboth or stone pillars, and the Asherim or wooden posts, which stood on these high places, were of course destroyed (verse 14 : cf. Deut. vii. 5, xii. 3). The high places throughout all Judah, including all local cults, whether in the name of Yahweh or of other gods (verses 5, 8 : cf. Deut. xii. 1-28), were similarly treated, and the reformation seems to have extended beyond the limits of Josiah's kingdom to Bethel, if not, as a later writer claims, to Samaria (verses 15 and 16-20). By this drastic procedure, one sanctuary alone remained, the Temple at Jerusalem. Here the reformation was consummated by the celebration of the Feast of Passover, according to the new requirement of the Law-book, not, as hitherto, as a feast locally celebrated throughout the country (verses 21-23 : cf. Deut. xvi. 1-8, especially verse 5). Finally, various methods of magic and divination are suppressed (verse 24 : cf. Deut. xviii. 9-14). Any one who will take the trouble to consult the parallel passages will probably be convinced that he has still before him, within the limits of Deuteronomy, the written document that prompted the reformation of Josiah. This is especially clear in the fact that the principle of one central sanctuary, which stood out in our outline of the book, is fundamental in the actual reformation, though it reverses the practice of earlier Hebrew religion, which permitted many altars throughout the land (Exod. xx. 24). In one point only is there want of obvious agreement between the precepts of our book and the practice

of the reformation, viz. in the fact that whilst Deuteronomy gives the country Levites the right to sacrifice at Jerusalem (xviii. 7) this is withheld from them according to the narrative of 2 Kings (xxiii. 9). But the reformers are simply exceeding Deuteronomy in the rigorous application of its polemic against the high places¹.

Granting, then, the identity of some part of our present Book of Deuteronomy with the Book of the Law found in the Temple, the further question is naturally suggested, which part? Some data towards the answer are given us by the comparison already made, which shows that the Deuteronomic parallels to the narrative are practically all drawn from that central portion of Deuteronomy which constitutes the second address of Moses (chaps. v-xxvi), and more especially from its distinctly legislative portion (chaps. xii-xxvi). Further indications as to the extent of the Book of the Law are as follows. (1) It was so brief that Shaphan was able to read it through for himself, apparently before leaving the Temple, and then to read it again to the king on his return. (2) Its authenticity was accepted by Josiah without any question; the book must therefore have contained clear information as to its authoritative origin, and cannot have been a bare collection of anonymous laws. If, for brevity's sake, we might prefer to take the legislative portion of the second address of Moses (chaps. xii-xxvi) as the Book of the Law, yet we require some such introduction as the earlier portion of that address (chaps. v-xi) supplies, in order to explain the unhesitating acceptance of it by Josiah. (3) The impression made on him was so strong that he rent his clothes; we therefore seem to require some pointed conclusion to the Book of the Law, emphasizing the consequences of neglecting it. Such a conclusion would actually be supplied by the blessings and curses of chap. xxviii, which there is no reason to separate from the rest of the

¹ Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, i. 656.

second address. The conclusion, therefore, which we provisionally reach is that the second address of Moses (chaps. v-xxvi, xxviii) contains the original Book of the Law, the only valid objection being that it seems too long; but its present length is probably due to subsequent amplification. Earlier criticism (e. g. that of Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs*, p. 191) regarded the legislative portion of the address as original, its introductory chapters of exhortation being added subsequent to the reformation; but, to say nothing of the necessity for *some* introduction to the original book (mentioned above), there does not seem any adequate ground, either in language or subject-matter, for drawing this line of division (for the linguistic proof, cf. Driver, *Deuteronomy*, pp. lxvi, lxxviii f.). More recent criticism has attempted the separation of different strata running through the whole address; Steuernagel, for example, has made use of the considerable variation in the use of singular and plural suffixes, and of obvious displacements and doublets, to effect such an analysis (*Deuteronomium und Josua*, pp. ii, iii). It can hardly be said that any such analysis has found general acceptance, and discussion of the details lies outside the scope of our present survey; but certain sections, notably the long digression concerning Horeb (ix. 8-x. 11) and the Levitical section relating to clean and unclean animals (xiv. 3-20), are probably later additions. These elements, together with the remaining non-legislative chapters of our Deuteronomy, are due to successive editions of the original work¹. That there have been such is clearly shown by the parallel and independent superscriptions to the first and second addresses (i. 1-5; iv. 44-49), and this indication is confirmed

¹ 'Apart from the elements of the present Deuteronomy, belonging to JE, P, and the connected redaction, the book, as it lies before us, is a precipitate of the spiritual movements called into being by the Law-book and the Reformation of Josiah. It arose through the efforts to make Josiah's book adequate for all requirements.' (Stade, *Bib. Theologie des Alten Testaments*, p. 264.)

by the independence of the addresses themselves. It is possible that the Horeb digression, already referred to (ix. 8 f.), belongs to the historical review of the first three chapters, which it may have preceded. These chapters depend largely on the JE narrative; they are assigned to the interval between the Deuteronomic reform and the Exile, say about 600 B.C., by the two most recent commentators (Steuernagel and Bertholet). Against the supposition that they are by the author of the second address, 'the diversity of historical representation is decisive' (Moore, *EB.* 1087; he instances the different relations represented as existing with the Moabites (cf. ii. 29 and xxiii. 4), and the fact that the first address supposes the men of the desert to have all perished save two (i. 35, ii. 14 f.), whilst the second bases its appeal on their continuance—'Your eyes have seen all the great work of Yahweh which He did' (xi. 7: cf. v. 2)). A portion of this first address (iv. 1-40) is not, however, historical review, but exhortation, and part of it, at least, seems to presuppose the Exile (v. 25-31: cf. Moore, *l. c.*) as does the third address (xxix, xxx). The last four chapters of Deuteronomy, forming the Appendix on the closing events of the life of Moses, whilst incorporating some of the oldest elements in the book (e. g. the 'Blessing,' xxxiii), were probably added last of all. We may, therefore, roughly distinguish four stages in the composition of our present Deuteronomy, viz:—

- (1) The Book of the Law (v—ix. 7; x. 12 f.—xi, xii-xxvi, xxviii) before 621 B.C. (D.)
- (2) Historical Introduction (i-iii; ix. 8—x. 11), c. 600 B.C. (D².)
- (3) Exilic Introduction and Conclusion (iv. 1-40, xxix f.) (D³.)
- (4) Appendix and Redactional additions and alterations¹. R (J, E, P).

¹ The above symbols, so far as they relate to the various

Of greater importance than the precise dating of these later additions is the question of the period at which the original Book of the Law was written. We have seen ample reason for holding that the second address of Moses was substantially in existence in 621 B. C. ; we have now to ask whether its composition is to be assigned to an earlier period, and if so, within what limits. It is to be noticed, in the first place, that the address, whilst written throughout on the assumption that Moses is the speaker, is definitely ascribed to Moses as writer also in the narrative conclusion to the book (xxx. 9 f., 24 f.). It is not possible here to repeat the well-known arguments for the rejection of this tradition, which are stated at length in Driver's *Deuteronomy* (pp. xxxiv-xliv)¹. The most convincing proof that the book belongs to an age much later than the Mosaic lies in the cumulative force of the reconstruction of the history of Israel's religion, afforded by many independent data. Marti, in his recent useful outline of the results attained (*Die Religion des Alten Testaments unter den Religionen des vorderen Orients*, 1906; Eng. Trans. by Bienemann, 1907), divides the religious development into four periods:—(1) The *Nomadic* period, prior to settlement in Palestine, whose characteristic is the belief in demons and spirits, found amongst ancient and modern Semites in this stage of culture, and surviving amongst the Hebrews to a much later age. (2) The *Agricultural* period, following the settlement in Palestine of a group of people united by the worship of Yahweh, who had delivered their central stock from the slavery of Egypt.

strata of Deuteronomic writers (D, D², D³), are self-explanatory. The symbols R, J, E, and P are those used throughout the Pentateuch, and in Joshua, and are explained on p. 53, and in *The Century Bible*, Genesis, p. 52. Further details of analysis are indicated in the notes, and by these letters attached to the text.

¹ They are not weakened in any material point by the criticisms of G. Robinson in *The Expositor* (vols. viii and ix, 1898, 1899: 'The Genesis of Deuteronomy') or of Orr in *The Problem of the Old Testament* (1905).

Yahweh becomes the god of the land whose local deities He has dispossessed, though His worship borrows many elements, particularly in regard to sacrifice, from the religion of Palestine. But He is distinct from these gods by His growing relation with the social and moral life of His people. (3) This relation is developed in the next period by the *prophets*, particularly those of the eighth century before Christ, who develop the principle of a practical monotheism, and emphasize the moral requirements of Yahweh as against the sacrificial. The individualism of Jeremiah and the universalism of Deutero-Isaiah are consequences of this fundamental emphasis on the ethical nature of God and man. (4) Finally, we have the religion of the *Law*, whose characteristic is dependence on a written revelation of the Divine requirements. If such an outline of the history of religion in Israel be accepted—and it is hardly too much to say that all we know of Semitic religion in general and Hebrew in particular supports its general truth—then there can be little doubt as to what limits we should draw for the date of composition of the central part of Deuteronomy. Its fundamental theological doctrine, rightly enshrined by Judaism in its daily ritual, is the ‘Hear, O Israel: Yahweh is our God, Yahweh alone’¹; its fundamental religious precept is stated in the continuing words, ‘and thou shalt love Yahweh thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might’ (vi. 4, 5). Its further insistence on a single sanctuary is a logical deduction from the practical monotheism for an age not yet able to separate the visible from the invisible. The single God, the single love for Him, and the single sanctuary for His worship can be explained only as ideas produced by the moving events and personalities of the eighth century. We

¹ See note on vi. 4 for the justification of this rendering, and for the sense in which it proclaims monotheism in practice, by its emphasis on the unique relation of Yahweh and Israel.

shall have reason to see that Deuteronomy stands as the incorporation of the teaching of the great prophets, and as the transition to the later religion of the written law. The dominant precept of its legislation, that of the central sanctuary, finds part of its explanation also in the deliverance of Jerusalem and its sanctuary from Sennacherib in 701, whilst more ancient sanctuaries were defiled by the invader (Moore, *l. c.* 1084). Hezekiah himself (720-693) is said to have conducted a reformation on lines similar to that of Josiah (2 Kings xviii. 4, 22), but his work was undone by his son Manasseh (692-639; xxi. 3 f.). Within the seventh century, therefore, i. e. either in the long reign of Manasseh or in the earlier part of that of Josiah (637-608), the central part of our Deuteronomy must have been written. The later date is perhaps more probable. Against either date it has been frequently urged that the seventh-century writer who composed the address he has ascribed to Moses could not well be 'inspired' if his method was intended to deceive. But can he be accused of such an intention? We have not only to remember the well-known freedom by which ancient writers place their own interpretation of the events of a period in the mouth of the actors in them¹—a freedom perfectly legitimate before the emergence of the finer historical sense of our own days—but also the fact that this writer is under the influence of those great prophets who did not hesitate to speak in the name of Yahweh. If a man may claim to speak in the spirit of God, when conscience sends him forward like Amos, or deep personal sorrow purges his vision like Hosea's, or faith lifts his eyes above armies like Isaiah's, why may he not speak with equal sincerity in the spirit of some great fellow man whose mantle of prophecy is his inheritance²? The naïve ascription of authorship, honest then, would be dishonest now; but,

¹ Cf. the speeches of Thucydides, and the dialogues of Plato.

² For the psychological possibility of this, see 2 Kings ii. 9.

given the ancient standpoint, all that can be demanded of the author is that he should, if writing in the name of Moses, speak as Moses would have spoken were he still alive¹. Indeed, we may go further and say that this is the only way to interpret the great men of the past truthfully; and when Israel ceased to do this, she exchanged her prophetic inspiration for the religion of the scribe. Truth, as Mazzini finely puts it, lies at the intersection of tradition and conscience. The conscience of a seventh-century writer intersecting the tradition of a great law-giver has given us the Book of the Law found in the Temple. The writer has lent his own experience to Moses, so that he, being dead, yet speaketh. He has ascribed to him a foresight of many centuries, just as Jewish exegesis does in its comments on the Pisgah vision. Rashi tells us that when Moses looked out over the Promised Land he saw, not only its several parts, but the enacted history of each. The whole panorama of Israel's moving history till the last day was unrolled before his undimmed eye. In the same spirit, and with use of the same dramatic occasion, the writer of the address has made Moses legislate for a distant century, so fulfilling the words of the book itself—'Yahweh thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken' (xviii. 15). To that prophetic message Josiah did hearken, rending his raiment, whilst to the contemporary message of Jeremiah his son Jehoiakim refused to hearken, rending not his raiment but the prophet's roll (Jer. xxxvi. 23). There is no more reason to doubt the sincerity of the Deuteronomist than of Jeremiah. Each was convinced of the genuineness of his message, whether spoken as coming direct from God or mediated through a historic tradition.

¹ For confirmation of this in (later) Jewish theories of revelation, see Taylor's *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, Excursus I.

II. THE DEUTERONOMIC LEGISLATION.

Maine, in his classical work on 'Ancient Law,' with his eye turned to the Indo-European family of nations, names three stages of development prior to the emergence of a written code. The earliest is that of 'separate, isolated judgements,' spoken by a king or judge, and assumed to be the result of direct inspiration. A second stage is reached when the awards in a succession of similar cases become 'the germ or rudiment of a custom' (p. 5). The third stage is reached when the king's power passes to an aristocracy who claim 'to monopolize the *knowledge* of the laws, to have the exclusive possession of the principles by which quarrels are decided' (p. 12). Such an aristocracy may be religious in the East, civil or political in the West; but in any case, the tradition of Customary Law is in their keeping. Finally, we reach the stage in which, through the invention of writing, 'Inscribed tablets were seen to be a better depository of law, and a better security for its accurate preservation, than the memory of a number of persons however strengthened by habitual exercise' (p. 15). Maine generalized without reference to the development of Semitic law, but in this field also his analysis holds good. Behind such a written code as that of Deuteronomy we see a religious oligarchy, the priests of Israel, on whom has devolved the tradition of customary law. Behind that oligarchy, again, we catch a glimpse of Moses, as an individual law-giver, sitting to judge the people who throng him from morn till even: 'The people come unto me to inquire of God: when they have a matter, they come unto me; and I judge between a man and his neighbour, and I make them know the statutes of God, and His laws' (Exod. xviii. 15, 16). We may fill up this outline with Doughty's details of justice in the desert, as it is administered among the Bedouins to-day. The tribesmen gather in the morn-

ing at the tent of their sheikh, where common affairs are discussed, such as movements of enemies, and facilities of pasture and water.

This is the council of the elders and the public tribunal: hither the tribesmen bring their causes at all times, and it is pleaded by the maintainers of both sides with busy clamour; and everyone may say his word that will. The sheykh meanwhile takes counsel with the sheukh, elder men and more considerable persons; and judgement is given commonly without partiality, and always without bribes. This sentence is final. The loser is mulcted in heads of small cattle or camels, which he must pay anon, or go into exile, before the great sheykh send executors to distrain any beasts of his, to the estimation of the debt. The poor Beduins are very unwilling payers, and often think themselves unable at present: thus, in every tribe, some households may be seen of other tribes' exiles. . . . Seldom the judge and elders err, in these small societies of kindred, where the life of every tribesman lies open from his infancy, and his state is to all men well known. Even their suits are expedite, as all the other works of the Arabs. Seldom is a matter not heard and resolved in one sitting. Where the accusation is grave, and some are found absent that should be witnesses, their cause is held over to another hearing. . . . In the desert there is no human forfeit, there is nothing even in homicide, if the next to the blood withhold not their assent, which may not be composed, the guilty paying the amends (rated in heads of cattle). (*Arabia Deserta*, i. 249.)

Such is the picture of primitive Semitic legislation preserved by the changeless desert; and it is doubtless substantially as true of the Israelites of the time of Moses as of the Bedouins of to-day. We need to keep it constantly before us in the study of Hebrew law, because the origin explains many things in the result. The earlier laws, at least, spring from the life of the people, and bear the evident impress of Hebrew psychology and primitive culture. Peculiarities in their presentation may seem inexplicable to us, till we remember

that they may be adjudications on actual cases, preserved as types and precedents.

We are, fortunately, able to study the results of a long development of Semitic legislation in the Code of Laws promulgated by the Babylonian king Hammurabi¹. This king, who reigned in the twenty-third century before Christ, appears in the Bible under the name Amraphel (Gen. xiv. 9). The large block of stone on which his laws are inscribed was carried from Sippara in Babylonia to Susa in Elam, where it was discovered in 1902. On one side of it is a picture of Hammurabi receiving his laws from the seated sun-god Shamash. There are forty-four columns legible, and five which have been erased, and the laws number 282. The practical object of the publication is declared in the epilogue to be that 'the oppressed, who has a controversy, shall stand before my image as king of righteousness, read the inscription, perceive the precious words: the inscription shall show him his business, he shall find his right' (Winckler's trans., p. 39). This epilogue contains an invocation of blessing on the obedient, and a number of curses on the disobedient; in this greater amplitude of malediction resembling that of the Deuteronomic Law-book (xxviii). In the prologue Hammurabi dwells on his Divine appointment; but the body of laws itself is a code pure and simple, without any of that admixture of appeal and warning which characterizes the Book of Deuteronomy and gives it its moral and religious value. The laws of Hammurabi confirm Maine's dictum that 'the more archaic the code, the fuller and the minuter is its penal legislation' (*op. cit.*, p. 368). They are of the greatest importance for the interpretation of Hebrew law, with which they are closely related, if not as direct source, yet certainly as developed from a common origin and amongst a related people. Their principal topics are

¹ For fuller information, see the article in *Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. v, by Johns, whose translation is here followed.

the rights and duties of kings' servants, the cultivation of land, the transactions of commerce, family relationships, inheritance and adoption, the control of slaves, the hiring of servants, and a long list of penalties in regard to conduct towards parents, personal injuries, surgical and veterinary blundering, the branding of slaves, imperfectly-constructed houses and boats. Amongst these penalties we find mutilations of the tongue, eye, ear, breasts, limbs, and teeth. (In Deuteronomy, apart from the *jus talionis* or law of like for like, there is only one case (xxv. 12) in which mutilation, that of the hand, is commanded.) It must not be thought that these are merely arbitrary cruelties; they rest on a different psychology from ours, one which regards the different members of the body as possessing a quasi-consciousness, and as subject to ethical judgement¹; so that, as far as possible, it is the guilty member that is made to suffer. For example, 'If the doctor has treated a gentleman for a severe wound with a lancet of bronze, and has caused the gentleman to die, or has removed a cataract of the eye for a gentleman with the bronze lancet and has caused the loss of the gentleman's eye, one shall cut off his hands' (§ 218). Or again, 'If a son of a palace warder, or of a vowed woman, to the father that brought him up, and the mother that brought him up, has said, "Thou art not my father, thou art not my mother," one shall cut out his tongue' (§ 192). Another principle that sharply divides primitive thought from our own is that of corporate responsibility, the principle that regards the family, not the individual, as the legislative unit. Two striking examples of this are found in the Code of Hammurabi. If a man has caused a woman's death in a certain way, his own daughter is killed (§ 210). If

¹ This principle, differently applied, explains the piercing of the slave's ear (Deut. xv. 17), the ear being the organ of obedience.

a builder has built a house so badly that it falls and causes the death of the owner's son, the builder's son is to be killed (§ 230). The principle is familiar to us from its recognition in Israel, as in the destruction of the family of Achan (Joshua vii. 24, 25), and it underlies the Second Commandment, which represents God as visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation (Deut. v. 9; Exod. xx. 5). But the Deuteronomic Code expressly lifts its voice against this principle: 'The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, neither shall the children be put to death for the fathers: every man shall be put to death for his own sin' (xxiv. 16). Jeremiah, the contemporary of the Deuteronomic reformers, and perhaps one of them, echoes the same protest, when he says: 'In those days they shall say no more, The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge. But every one shall die for his own iniquity: every man that eateth the sour grapes, his teeth shall be set on edge' (Jer. xxxi. 29, 30). Another of many interesting parallels between the two codes is in regard to the provision known as the 'Year of Release.' Deuteronomy provides that 'If thy brother, an Hebrew man, or an Hebrew woman, be sold unto thee, and serve thee six years; then in the seventh year thou shalt let him go free from thee' (xv. 12). The limit for such practical slavery for debt is more closely drawn by Hammurabi: 'If a debt has seized a man, and he has given his wife, his son, or his daughter for the money, or has handed them over to work off the debt, for three years they shall work in the house of their buyer or exploiter, in the fourth year he shall set them at liberty' (§ 117). But, in general, the Deuteronomic law expresses that amelioration of treatment and condition which we should expect from its much later date than the Laws of Hammurabi. This is also true of the relation of the Deuteronomic laws to the earlier Hebrew legislation, contained in the Book of the Covenant (Exod. xx. 22---

xxiii. 19), the Decalogue (Exod. xx. 1-17), and what is known as the earlier Decalogue (viz. the laws contained in Exod. xxxiv. 10-26). For a tabulated comparison of the Deuteronomic Code with the earlier, and the later legislation, reference may be made to Driver's Deuteronomy (Introd., pp. iii-xiv); his conclusions are:—'The different relation in which Deuteronomy thus stands to the three codes of JE, H, and P may be described generally as follows: it is an *expansion* of the laws in JE (Exod. xx. 22-xxiii. 33, xxxiv. 10-26, xiii. 3-16); it is, in several features, *parallel* to the Law of Holiness; it contains *allusions* to laws—not indeed always the same as, but—similar to the ceremonial institutions and observances codified in the rest of P' (*op. cit.*, p. xiv). It will be seen that this conclusion, based solely on internal evidence, confirms the conclusion as to the date of the Deuteronomic Code already reached on other grounds. The only point in which it is perhaps open to criticism is the description of Deut. xii-xxvi as an enlarged edition of the Book of the Covenant, which must at least be taken in a broad sense (cf. Moore, *E.B.*, c. 1083: 'the evidence of literary dependence is much less abundant and convincing than it must be if Deuteronomy were merely a revised and enlarged Book of the Covenant').

The Deuteronomic Code, containing upwards of eighty laws, falls into three principal sections:—(1) The central sanctuary, with its related ordinances (xii. 1-xvi. 17, with xvi. 21-xvii. 7); (2) Authorities—viz. Judges, King, Priests, Prophets (xvii. 8-xviii. 22, with xvi. 18-20); (3) Miscellaneous Laws, many of which, however, might be entitled Laws of Humanity (Steuernagel, *op. cit.*, p. 74) (chaps. xix-xxv). But it will be most convenient to group the contents of the code, for the purpose of more closely examining its contents, under five heads:—viz. (1) Primitive Culture and Anthropology; (2) The Law of Persons; (3) The Law of Property; (4) Justice and Humanity; (5) The Law of Worship; of which the last

has been described in the previous section (The Reformation of Josiah).

I. *Primitive Culture and Anthropology.* There are four groups of ideas which receive illustration in Deuteronomy, of which we may first take those which attach to—

1. Blood. Scarcely any subject is more fruitful in its revelation of primitive habits of thought than this. A red river of blood runs through the whole landscape of early thought and custom. The blood is the life—to us, physiologically, its vehicle, to the primitive man, psychically, either its vehicle or the life itself. We no longer think of blood when it is shed as life; but the key to primitive thought about blood is the fact that the life, with all its perils and powers, is still in that red pool which has gushed from the dying man, or spurted from the neck of the slain animal. It is for this reason that blood is tabooed, on the one hand, as a source of peril, or used in magic, on the other, as a means of power. This attitude explains many of the customs and ideas attaching to covenants, sacrifice, and the primitive justice of blood-revenge. Three of these customs are found in Deuteronomy. One is the well-known blood taboo, forbidding blood to be eaten with meat of slain animals: 'Ye shall not eat the blood; thou shalt pour it out upon the earth as water' (xii. 16: cf. xv. 23); 'The blood is the life; and thou shalt not eat the life with the flesh' (xii. 23). Probably, also, the law forbidding any animal dying of itself to be eaten rests partly on the idea that the coagulated blood cannot be drained from its veins (xiv. 21). Further, we have in this book examples of the psychical stain of blood, the idea that where blood has fallen a certain peril attaches. A battlement is to be made round the roof of the Israelite house 'that thou bring not blood upon thine house, if any man fall from thence' (xxii. 8). There is also a striking ritual in the case of the finding of a murdered body, the murderer being unknown. The responsibility rests on the nearest community, whose elders must purge away the

stain of blood by breaking the neck of an unused heifer in a valley with running water, and by washing their hands over it, with the confession of innocence (xxi. 1-9). As a third example of the significance of blood, there is the practice of blood-revenge mentioned in connexion with the cities of refuge (xix. 1-13).

2. The mystery of life and death, underlying blood, receives illustration in other ways also. Birth is a mystery, and the first-born of man or animal is regarded in a peculiar light. In Deuteronomy this finds evidence in regard to animals only: 'All the firstling males that are born of thy herd and of thy flock thou shalt sanctify unto Yahweh thy God' (xv. 19). Perhaps, also, the mystery of generation may underlie the severity of the obscure law relating to an assault by a woman (xxv. 11, 12: cf. Cook, *The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi*, p. 251). Death, like birth, is a mystery, and the presence of death is always a peril. Hence, the body of a malefactor who has been hanged is not to remain all night unburied: 'that thou defile not thy land which Yahweh thy God giveth thee for an inheritance' (xxi. 22, 23). The prohibition of mutilations in connexion with death opens up the large subject of mourning customs: 'Ye are the children of Yahweh your God; ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead' (xiv. 1). Deuteronomy here opposes offerings of blood and hair at the grave, of universal prevalence; in some way they are thought to bind the living to the dead, and to secure the friendship of ghosts.

3. One of the principal differences between primitive and modern psychology lies in the belief that external influences enter into the life through channels other than those of the senses. We think of Man-soul as a fortified city, with certain definite gates; the primitive man conceived himself as an unwall'd settlement, open to invasion on every hand. This is the psychological atmosphere which explains magic at the bottom of the

scale and prophetic inspiration at the top. One of the aims of the Deuteronomic reform is to lift men's thought from the lowest to the highest of these levels, within the same atmosphere. Consequently, a number of magical or unspiritual methods are condemned (xviii. 10, 11). Israel's future communion with the spiritual world is to be through a spiritual channel—that of the prophet. The practices condemned or modified in the interests of the religion of Yahweh illustrate the conditions of thought from which has arisen the higher and purer belief. Thus, it is forbidden to seethe a kid in its mother's milk (xiv. 21), probably with reference to the preparation of certain charms, which seem to have been used in the fertilization of land; milk has a mystery akin to that of blood (Robertson Smith, *Rel. Sem.*, p. 221 n.). The law which is sometimes called euphemistically 'cleanliness in the camp' is really a development of the belief that everything connected with the human body is a peril to it, if falling into the hands of ill-disposed persons (xxiii. 9-14). The plague of leprosy—always a mysterious disease to the Israelite—is explained and treated by what we should call psychical rather than physiological methods (xxiv. 8, 9). The command to wear tassels of twisted cords on the corners of the garment (xxii. 12), like that to wear frontlets—the later phylacteries—(vi. 8, xi. 18), is to be connected with the widespread use of amulets amongst ancient and modern peoples. The exhortation to keep a vow once made (xxiii. 21-3) is explicable enough to us on purely moral grounds, but the origin of the regard for vows lies in the ancient regard for the spoken word, as something charged with powers of its own of curse or blessing.

4. A fourth group, consisting of references to fetishistic and totemistic beliefs, remains to be noticed. The principle of fetishism is that which regards the material object as the temporary or permanent dwelling-place of a hidden and mysterious power; this underlies the use of the wooden post or Asherah, and the stone pillar or Mazzebah, against

which Deuteronomy wages relentless warfare (xii. 3, xvi. 21, 22). One of the most significant features of the Deuteronomic reform lies in this protest against customs hitherto natural to Israel with its neighbours; the later force and attraction of Israel's faith for the nations lay in this very rejection of material emblems as inadequate for a spiritual God. The principle of totemism, brought out in recent researches into the ways of Australian aborigines, is that of the group relationship of men to animals or plants. This may be a development from the plain fact of human dependence on these for food; it comes to mean that a definite human group is connected with a definite family of plants or animals, which it multiplies by its rites, and on whose well-being its own depends. Possibly we should connect the list of clean and unclean animals in Deuteronomy (xiv. 3-20) chiefly with such early totemistic beliefs, whether flourishing among the surrounding people, or among the Israelites themselves; Israel is to be saved from unspiritual cults by avoidance of the animals with which they are bound up. Perhaps a similar range of belief will best explain the difficult laws against sowing the vineyard with two kinds of seeds, ploughing with an ox and an ass, or wearing mingled stuff (xxii. 9-11); or these may spring from ideas as to the mystery of sex.

II. From these interesting indications of the survival of earlier beliefs, we may pass to the direct legislation of Deuteronomy in regard to persons. As already indicated in the account of the Code of Hammurabi, the Book of Deuteronomy occupies a transitional place between the earlier corporate responsibility and the later individualism, to which it has largely contributed. The injustice of treating the whole family as the criminal unit is fully recognized (xxiv. 16). What Maine sums up as the progress from Status to Contract (*op. cit.*, p. 170)—i. e. from life as determined by position in a family to life as conditioned by personal agreement—is here visible in many

ways. We have a number of laws relating to marriage and sexual relations, designed not only to promote morality, but (to do what is the same thing under another name) to give woman her natural rights and protection. This is shown in a most impressive, because quite indirect, way in the form which the Tenth Commandment assumes in its quotation in Deuteronomy. The wife appears in the Exodus version (xx. 17) as one of the chattels of the house, and is named after the house, together with the slaves, the oxen, and the asses. But in the Deuteronomic version the wife is named before the house, and is placed in a separate sentence, a different verb, with a higher shade of meaning, being used (Deut. v. 21). The same principle operates in regard to the rights even of women taken captive in war. Before one of these can become the wife of her captor, she is to be allowed the full interval for mourning her dead, her head being shaved and her nails pared, probably in accordance with mourning customs; nor can she be subsequently sold for money, or dealt with as a mere slave (xxi. 10-14). Baseless scandal against a newly-married woman is severely punished (xxii. 13-21), and a rough principle of discrimination is introduced in alleged cases of sexual immorality (xxii. 22-7); a girl who has been wronged is to be married, and the heir to an estate does not inherit his father's wives (xxii. 30), as by the older custom (2 Sam. xvi. 22). Divorce is regulated (xxiv. 1-4), and immorality under the cloak of religion is rebuked (xxiii. 17, 18: cf. xxii. 5?). Levirate marriage (xxv. 5-10) secures succession for the childless; he who renounces his duty in this respect has to submit to a humiliating symbolical ceremony, in which his sandal is loosed, in the presence of the elders, by the woman he will not marry (xxv. 9). As the rights of women are protected, so are those of children. An interesting law deals with the right of primogeniture, which is made inalienable. According to Hebrew law, the first-born would receive twice the portion of the others—which

explains Elisha's prayer for a double portion of the spirit of Elijah; if, now, a man's eldest son is born of a wife he dislikes, he may not set this child aside for the sake of one born of his favourite (xxi. 15-17). On the other hand, the rights of the parents in regard to their sons are safeguarded, and a persistently disobedient son can be brought to the elders of the city, and is even liable to death by stoning (xxi. 18-21). It is eminently characteristic of Deuteronomy that it should lay stress on the religious training of children: 'These words which I command thee this day shall be upon thine heart; and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up' (vi. 6, 7: cf. verse 20 f.). The circle of rights and duties extends beyond the family to its slaves, and to those without, even to aliens dwelling in the midst of Israel. A law which throws considerable light on the influences making ancient domestic slavery so very different a thing from modern commercial slavery not only deals with the emancipation of the slave in the seventh year of service, but contemplates the possibility of his preferring to remain for ever in the family of his master; and if he prefers to go he is not to be sent empty away (xv. 12-18). On the other hand, he who robs a brother Israelite of his freedom, and sells him into slavery, is liable to a capital sentence (xxiv. 7: cf. Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 241). The duty which an Israelite owes to the stranger who dwells in his community is constantly emphasized, but as a principle of morality rather than as matter of explicit enactments (*vide infra*: Justice and Humanity).

III. From the Law of Persons we pass to the Law of Property, though we must not forget Maine's reminder 'that the separation of the Law of Persons from that of Things has no meaning in the infancy of the law, that the rules belonging to the two departments are inextricably mingled together' (*op. cit.*, p. 259). Thus, one of the

marriage laws already noticed deals with the daughter as the father's property, estimated at the value of fifty shekels of silver (xxii. 29); whilst the person of a debtor is liable for his debt (xv. 12). The laws of property are usually as significant of social conditions as the laws of persons are of moral principles; but the two realms are closely intermingled, and it is chiefly for the convenience of our own habits of thought that we are entitled to make the distinction between persons and property. The social conditions implied in the Deuteronomic Code are those of an agricultural people, as contrasted with the more commercial character of many of the laws of the Babylonian; but, as Cook says (*op. cit.*, p. 272), 'That laws relating to trade and commerce should fail to find a place in the Hebrew legislation is not surprising when it is considered how widely conditions in Israel differed from those in Babylonia.' We find the regulations we should naturally expect amongst an agricultural people against the removal of a neighbour's landmark, 'which they of old time have set' (xix. 14); the stone or other mark of the boundary was probably once consecrated to a deity, under whose protection it stood. A neighbour's vineyards and cornfields may satisfy one's personal and present hunger, but clear limits are indicated as to what may be taken (xxiii. 24, 25). Strayed oxen or sheep are to be restored, or kept against restoration, and this applies to all lost property; whilst a man is to be helped with his fallen ox or ass (xxii. 1-4). A somewhat curious law declares that eggs or young birds found in a nest by accident may be taken, but not the mother bird; it has been suggested that this rests on the idea of the mother bird as common and public property, which may not be appropriated (xxii. 6, 7). The wages of the labourer must not be detained, but paid daily, whether he be Hebrew or foreign, for the alien has his rights (xxiv. 14, 15). In regard to borrowing and lending, the chief thing that strikes us about the laws is their imprac-

ticability ; indeed, we find Jeremiah complaining (xxxiv. 8 f.) that, as a matter of fact, they are not observed. Limits are placed on the articles that may be pawned, necessities like the millstone being excluded (xxiv. 6 : cf. 10-13) ; no interest for the loan is to be taken from a Hebrew, though it may be taken from a foreigner (xxiii. 19, 20) ; the curious provision of the year of release, already noticed in another connexion, would secure the remission of the debt in the seventh year, though some have held that what is meant is the temporary suspension of the right to repayment (xv. 1-11 ; Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 233 n.). We have to remember in all this that the code 'contemplates only those cases in which indebtedness of one Israelite to another is the result of individual poverty ; it knows nothing of any kind of credit system such as necessarily springs up with the development of commerce' (Benzinger, *Law and Justice, E.B.*, c. 2727).

IV. It will naturally be asked what provision is made for the carrying out of these laws, and for the effective promotion of such legislative reforms. The answer is twofold : the organization of justice is to be made more efficient through enlargement of the jurisdiction of the priests at the expense of the elders ; and the revival of religion is to supply the motive for the higher moral standards. In regard to the first of these points (cf. Benzinger, *op. cit.*, c. 2717-2719), the judicial system behind the earlier Book of the Covenant is constituted by the elders of the locality, themselves the heads of families, who have, if the phrase may be allowed, 'pooled' their patriarchal power. These elders still appear in the Book of Deuteronomy. But, as Benzinger points out (*op. cit.*, c. 2719), 'The elders retain within their competency only a limited class of offences,' more especially in regard to the family, the original sphere of their jurisdiction (xxi. 18 f., xxii. 13 f., xxv. 7 f., xix. 11 f., xxi. 1 f.). The appointment of judges is regarded as the work of Moses (i. 9-18) ; each locality is to have its professional staff (xvi. 18). The

higher court is now the priestly college at Jerusalem (xvii. 8-13). Here the priests examine into the case, and show the sentence of judgement. The jurisdiction of the king appears to be limited to the enforcement of this priestly jurisdiction (xvii. 18-20). In regard to the details of the new administration, we notice not only exhortations to fair dealing (xxv. 13-16), and just judgement, and to the refusal of bribes (xvi. 19), but, what was probably more effective, two or three witnesses are required (xvii. 6, xix. 15), and a severe sentence is prescribed against perjury, the only case where the old *jus talionis* is applied (xix. 15-21). We notice also two important steps forward, or rather the recognition of two principles which make for progress in justice. One is the recognition of motive as a determining factor in manslaughter (xix. 4); the other is the precaution against excess in the punishment, which is to be administered, in the case of the bastinado, in the presence of the judge (xxv. 1-3: 'Forty stripes he may give him, he shall not exceed'). But the greatest progress is in the attempt to lift conduct from the letter of justice to the spirit of mercy, and to present the ideal of humanity towards all sorts and conditions of men. The attempt to secure humanity in warfare (chap. xx) was probably as impracticable as are present attempts at securing international arbitration. But one cannot miss the higher spirit that animates the appeals to kindness and humanity in the personal relationships of life (xxiv. 17, 18, 19-22: cf. x. 19, 'Love ye therefore the stranger, for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt'). This spirit is inculcated, not only towards dependents and strangers, but even towards animals ('Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn,' xxv. 4)¹. Its presence may seem incongruous in a law code, whilst we consider only the limits of practical enforcement; but it may remind us that

¹ Cf. the philanthropic reason assigned for the keeping of the Sabbath (v. 14: contrast Exod. xx. 11).

the code of law of any community always lags behind the highest moral ideals, and depends on them both for its continual improvement and for the very life-breath of its efficiency. For mercy is not only above the sceptred sway of the throned monarch; from the heart where it is enthroned it sends forth the pulsing life, without which the sceptre will drop from the nerveless grasp, and the most elaborate code of laws be as dead as that of Hammurabi.

III. THE DEUTERONOMIC RELIGION.

The Book of Deuteronomy is described by Dillmann (p. 602) and by Driver (p. xxvi) as 'a prophetic law book,' by Bertholet (p. xiii) as a 'crystallization of prophetic thoughts,' by Steuernagel (p. xx) as the tangible and practicable expression of more than a century's efforts after reform. The book itself bears explicit testimony to its reverence for the prophet's mission; Moses is represented as promising a succession of prophets like himself to be the authoritative channels of the Divine revelation (xviii. 15 f.). But a more impressive memorial of the reverence in which the great prophets of the eighth century were held by the reforming party consists in the fact that Deuteronomy would be inconceivable without them, and that almost every page of its appeals bears the impress of the teaching of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah.

The principles inculcated by these prophets, which are expressed and practically applied in the Book of Deuteronomy, are as follows:—

I. Yahweh alone is to be worshipped (vi. 4, 13, 14), not simply because His revealed character deserves the absolute devotion He claims from the Israelite, but because no other god can challenge the supreme and universal rule of Yahweh, the 'God of gods' (x. 17); indeed, there is no god beside Him (iv. 35, 39). Cf. Amos, i-ii, ix. 2, 4, 7; Hos. v. 14, viii. 14, xi. 11, xii. 9, xiii. 4, xiv. 3; Isaiah i. 24, ii. 10 f., x. 5 f., &c.; Micah i. 3 f., iv. 6 f., 12, v. 15.

II. No image or material representation of Him may be used in His worship (vii. 25, xii. 2-5, xvi. 21, 22 : cf. iv. 12-19, v. 8). Cf. Hos. iv. 17, viii. 4, x. 5, xiii. 2 ; Isaiah ii. 20, xxx. 22, xxxi. 7 ; Micah i. 7, v. 13, 14 ; (?) Amos viii. 14.

III. His character is wholly moral (vii. 9, 10 ; x. 17, 18). Cf. Amos v. 14, 15, 24 ; Hos. ii. 19, 20, iv. 1 f., v. 4 ; Isaiah i. 4, 15 f., v. 7, &c. ; Micah ii. 7, &c.

IV. Past history and present Providence reveal that the principles of Divine government are moral (v. 33, vi. 3, vii. 12 f., xi. 13-17, 26-8, xxvi. 5 f., xxviii, xxx). Cf. Amos i, ii, iii. 1, 2, iv. 6-11, vii-ix ; Hos. ii. 5 f., iv. 9, vi. 5, &c. ; Isaiah i. 5, xxviii. 23-9, &c. ; Micah iii. 12.

V. The relation of Israel to Yahweh has in it a moral demand, to be fulfilled through whole-hearted love for Him (vi. 5, vii. 6-8, viii. 5, xiv. 2, xxx. 11-14). Cf. Amos iii. 1, 2 ; Hos. ii. 19, iv. 1 f., xi. 1-3 ; Isaiah i. 21, &c. ; Micah vi. 8.

VI. His great requirement is that man should render to man what is right (v. 14, x. 19, xii. 19, xiv. 29, xv. 7, 15, xvi. 19, xxii. 1-4, xxiv. 14, 15, 17-22, xxv. 13-16). Sacrifice and the ritual of religion occupy a place in the worship of Yahweh subordinate to this chief requirement of social righteousness. Cf. Amos iii. 10, iv. 1, 4, v. 10, 21 f., viii. 4-6 ; Hos. vi. 6, viii. 13, ix. 4, x. 12 ; Isaiah i, &c., Micah ii. 1, iii, vi. 10.

I. We begin with what is undoubtedly the central doctrine of Deuteronomy, the unique claims of Yahweh. It is important to understand clearly what we mean by speaking of Hebrew Monotheism. In the Decalogue we read, 'Thou shall have none other gods beside me' (v. 7). This command does not deny the existence of other gods ; it simply declares that Israel has nothing to do with them. An early Hebrew song calls the Moabites 'the people of Kemosh,' who 'hath given his sons as fugitives, and his daughters into captivity' (Num. xxi. 29). Similarly, the Moabites would call Israel the people of Yahweh. On the well-known Moabite Stone we find

an excellent illustration of the relation of a Semitic people to its deity. King Mesha of Moab ascribes the victories of Omri of Israel over Moab to the anger of Kemosh with his land. At last Kemosh saw fit to restore the lost territory, and to direct a successful campaign against Israel, part of the spoil being the vessels of the defeated Yahweh of Israel. For ancient thought, the drums and trappings of peoples mark the strife of rival deities, each powerful in his own domain, and only occasionally beyond it. It is from such a conception of Yahweh that Hebrew Monotheism and Christian Theism have developed, not by any abstract denial of the existence of extra-territorial deities, but by putting more and more meaning into the character of Yahweh and His relation to His people until there was no room left for other gods, and they faded away into mere spectres and shades. This is particularly the work of the four prophets of the eighth century (see the references above). They can be called practical monotheists, not because they deny that other gods exist, but because they so exalt Yahweh that He becomes the only spiritual power of whom account need be taken. Deuteronomy follows them in the utterance of its doctrinal principle: 'Hear, O Israel: Yahweh our God is one Yahweh'; or, as seems a preferable translation: 'Yahweh is our God, Yahweh alone' (vi. 4). This sentence does not assert that there is no other god; indeed, within the same chapter, there is a nominal recognition of the existence of other gods: 'Ye shall not go after other gods, of the gods of the peoples which are round about you' (vi. 14). But it presents Yahweh as the one and only one object of Israel's love and worship, one in the sense that the horizon of Israelite religion includes no other, which is practical if not philosophical monotheism. Indeed, a century after, we find the monotheistic inference drawn in similar terms: 'And Yahweh shall become king over all the earth; in that day shall Yahweh be one, and His name one' (Zech. xiv. 9). Within the later strata of the

Book of Deuteronomy itself we pass from implicit to explicit monotheism, as the product of quasi-philosophical reflection. In the fourth chapter (exilic) we find the gods are regarded as mere idols, 'the work of men's hands, wood and stone, which neither see nor hear nor eat nor smell' (verse 28); 'Yahweh, He is God; there is none else beside Him' (verse 35); 'Yahweh, He is God in heaven above and upon the earth beneath: there is none else' (verse 39). Nothing more explicit than this statement can be wanted, and it is reached by the double process of degrading other deities into lifeless idols, and of exalting Yahweh from one tribal deity among many to the One and only God, by virtue of His attributes and power.

2. The practical deduction from this prophetic principle, which gives a special character to the legislation of Deuteronomy, is the law of the central sanctuary. We must not regard it as a merely theoretical inference, that because there is only one God there must be only one sanctuary. More probably, this application is due to the practical necessities of reform. The prophets had attacked the worship associated with the various high places scattered through the country in no measured terms, either because they offered a delusive substitute for the practice of morality (Amos iv. 4) or because of the immoral practices connected with their cults (Hosea, *supra*); they had denounced idolatry, because of its inadequacy to represent deity (Isa. ii. 8, 20) or because of its practical associations (Micah i. 7). But the long reign of Manasseh, during which so much heathen and idolatrous worship had prevailed, showed that the truth was not yet able to hold its own against the vested interests, the old-established prejudices, the ignorance and want of intelligence, of those connected with the local cults. Something definite must be done to bring home the prophetic ideals to the hearts of the people. The insistence of Isaiah on the inviolability of Jerusalem (xxxvii. 35, xxviii. 16), and the confirmation of this doctrine by the deliverance from

Sennacherib (Isa. xxxvii. 22, 33), must have largely helped to establish the prestige of the temple in the capital. If the worship of the land were centralized here, a high and worthy type might be maintained, whilst all other lower forms might be declared illegitimate. Nor was this ideal so impracticable as it might at first sight seem to us. 'The whole land of Israel is small: Jerusalem is distant from the sea only thirty-three miles, from Jordan about eighteen, from Hebron nineteen, and from Samaria thirty-four or thirty-five' (G. A. Smith, *E.B.*, c. 2417). When we remember the small extent of this territory, which we so easily forget in view of the magnitude of the spiritual interests of Israel, much becomes explicable in the ideals of the reformers, and the sweeping character of the reformation. It was no Utopian dream to conceive a land, so small, trained to worship Yahweh at its capital city in an imageless and moral worship. The rejected elements of the local cults of Yahweh (to say nothing of the worship of rival deities) are the image or material representation of Yahweh, which is unworthy of His nature (iv. 12-19), and immoral elements such as sacred prostitution, or the sacrifice of children, which are directly opposed to His requirements (xxiii. 17, 18; xii. 31, xviii. 10). The stone pillar and the wooden post were also condemned (xvi. 21, 22) because both could detract from the spirituality of God and engender superstition, whilst the latter seems to have been connected specially with immorality. These were, wholly or chiefly, elements absorbed into Hebrew religion from the cults of Canaan; so that the reformation was a genuine return to the strong simplicity of the earlier worship of Yahweh with, of course, the added ideas drawn from centuries of history, and continued progress in moral and social development¹. The chief element retained from the high places destroyed

¹ Bertholet, *op. cit.*, xxvii, emphasizes the loss to the people in the secularization of their life. No doubt the immediate loss was real enough, but it was the price of progress.

was that of sacrifice, to which the prophets, as a whole, were by no means kindly disposed; but the attitude of the Book of Deuteronomy to sacrifice, and the place given to it in the prescribed worship, are very different from that of the later Levitical system¹.

The practical character and aim of the Deuteronomic centralization of worship are further seen in the related laws meant to meet the difficulties occasioned by the change. Provision is made for the dispossessed priests of the local sanctuaries (xviii. 6-8); the protection of the fugitive from the avenger of blood, once provided at the local shrines, is now to be found at the cities of refuge instituted for the purpose (xix. 2 f.). The annual festivals and pilgrimages, the expression of the agricultural life of Canaan, are now to be celebrated at the one sanctuary (xvi. 16). The produce of the tithe, which may be too bulky to carry to Jerusalem, it is permitted to change into money to be expended there (xiv. 22-7). The slaughter of animals for food loses its ancient sacrificial character on ordinary occasions, the only requirement being that the blood is to be poured out on the ground (xii. 16, 24).

3. But the law of the central sanctuary, with its various safeguards, would have had little significance in the history of religion if it had not been the expression of a conception of God capable of unlimited growth and application. We have seen that the positive impulse to monotheism was an exalted conception of the character of Israel's God; it is this we have now to notice more closely. Two passages, in particular, illustrate this conception: 'The faithful God, which keepeth covenant and mercy with them that love Him and keep His commandments to a thousand generations; and repayeth them that

¹ Prior to D, the burnt-offering and the peace-offering are found (Exod. xx. 24, cf. xxiv. 5). D adds the heave-offering (Deut. xii. 6, 17). P adds not only the oblation or meal-offering (Lev. ii. 1 f.), but the sin-offering (v. 1-6), central in the Day of Atonement (Lev. xvi. 3), and the guilt-offering (Lev. v. 14-16).

hate Him to their face, to destroy them: He will not be slack to him that hateth Him, He will repay him to his face' (vii. 9, 10); 'Yahweh your God, He is God of gods and Lord of lords, the great God, the mighty, and the terrible, which regardeth not persons, nor taketh reward. He doth execute the judgement of the fatherless and widow, and loveth the stranger, in giving him food and raiment. . . . He is thy praise, and He is thy God, that hath done for thee these great and terrible things, which thine eyes have seen' (x. 17-21).

The conception of God involved in such descriptions is moral in the fullest sense of the word, moral as including both justice and mercy; and this conception underlies the whole statement of the requirements of Yahweh, and the interpretation of His dealings with men. The sources of this conception lie open to us in the personalities and dominant conceptions of the prophets; it is one of the fascinating rewards of Old Testament study that we see the idea of God emerging in its different elements, feature by feature, as the various elements of a portrait emerge on the developing plate in the photographer's dark room. Only as we study each contribution in its natural historic light do we grasp the meaning of the great word that 'God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in his Son' (Heb. i. 1, 2). The ethical monotheism of the eighth-century prophets, which supplies the passion and power of Deuteronomy, may be analysed into four more or less closely related elements, contributed by the four prophets already named. Amos presents Yahweh to us as a moral ruler, requiring moral obedience (chaps. i, ii; vii-ix); Hosea as a loving husband, in spite of Israel's infidelity (chaps. i-iii); Isaiah as the Holy One of Israel (v. 16, 24; vi. 3), the establisher of Zion (xxxvii. 35; xxviii. 16); Micah as the judge of social injustice (ii. 1, 2; iii. 10-12). The fact that we have gained,

through Christ, a still higher conception of His character, must not blind us to the importance of the contribution made by these prophetic pioneers, in their interpretation of His ways from the standpoint of idealized human morality. They were anthropomorphic thinkers, as all men who dare to think God must be; but, in such ventures of faith, everything depends on the quality of the anthropomorphism. Elijah, in his denunciation of the wrong done to Naboth, as well as in his protest against the worship of Baal, is prophetic of his successors; but they are able to rise above the cruder conceptions of Elijah into a more purely moral and spiritual sphere. It is this going forth of man to meet God, this stepping off the edge of the world into the darkness of the unknown, that forms the human side of revelation. Like Moses in the ancient tradition, these men climbed the mount of God, and brought back His word. It was fitting that prophecy, a Canaanite phenomenon in its lower forms, should be able in its higher, when permeated by the moral convictions of man, to dispossess the gods of Canaan.

Of these four prophets, it is from Hosea, the richest in his conception of Yahweh, that Deuteronomy derives its highest ideas. 'In a special degree the author of Deuteronomy is the spiritual heir of Hosea' (Driver, *Deut.* p. xxvii). But we may notice first that general conception of the Moral Government of the world which is common to all the prophets, and is specially emphasized in Amos.

4. The Book of Deuteronomy lays uncompromising stress on the retributive righteousness of God; for it, the past reveals the intervention of Yahweh in the affairs of His people, His control of events in accordance with their obedience to Him (cf. the retrospect of the first three chapters). The broad basis of appeal to Israel is that of the close of the original introduction to the code: 'Behold, I set before you this day a blessing and a curse; the blessing, if ye shall hearken . . . and the curse, if ye shall not

hearken' (xi. 26-8); or of that fine passage in the (later) conclusion: 'This commandment which I command thee this day, it is not too hard for thee, neither is it far off . . . the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it. See, I have set before thee this day life and good, and death and evil . . . life and death, the blessing and the curse' (xxx. 11-19). It was not until a later date, as in the Book of Job, that this naïve view of history, as consisting of direct reward and punishment, ceased to be adequate; and the inadequacy was pressed home to the heart of the individual when the old national unity ceased to occupy the foreground of religion. The Book of Deuteronomy shows no sense of difficulty in maintaining present directness of retribution and the entire adjustment of prosperity to righteousness; accordingly it has no message concerning the doctrine of a future life, by which that difficulty is partially met for Christian thought.

5. But it would not be just to the book to present the promise of reward and the threat of punishment as its only motive to obedience. Yahweh is to be loved in Himself for what He is; the relation in which He stands to Israel is not simply that of a judge or ruler, but of a friend and a father. This is the chief ground for holding that Deuteronomy is specially influenced by the teaching of Hosea: 'Thou shalt *love* Yahweh thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might' (vi. 5). We can see here the influence of the betrothal conception of Hosea, resulting in a new inwardness of motive. The relation between Yahweh and His people is lifted to a level of thought which may be called evangelical. Isaiah's conception of a holy people (vi. 5: cf. iv. 3, &c.) is given a noble extension when this holiness is made the response to the revealed character of Yahweh (Deut. vii. 6-8; xiv. 2, 21; xxvi. 19, xxviii. 9); and this extension comes through the combination of Hosea and Isaiah. Even when Hosea changes his figure for what is still

more suggestive of the true relation between God and man, that of father and son, he is followed by Deuteronomy. Hosea, in one of the tenderest passages in his book, writes: 'When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt . . . I taught Ephraim to go; I took them on my arms'—as a father takes the tired child whom he has been teaching to take its early steps (xi. 1-3). The same figure, applied somewhat differently, meets us in Deuteronomy: 'And thou shalt consider in thine heart, that, as a man chasteneth his son, so Yahweh thy God chasteneth thee' (viii. 5); it is followed exactly in i. 31.

6. The humanity of this relation between Yahweh and His people is reflected in the relation between man and man, presented as ideal. The humanitarianism of Deuteronomy is very marked, as we have already seen. It has well been said that 'Nowhere else in the O.T. do we breathe such an atmosphere of generous devotion to God, and of large-hearted benevolence towards man; nowhere else are duties and motives set forth with greater depth and tenderness of feeling, or with more winning and persuasive eloquence; and nowhere else is it shown with the same fullness of detail how high and noble principles may be applied so as to elevate and refine the entire life of the community' (Driver, *Deut.*, p. xxv). If the object of Deuteronomy is 'to transform the Judah of King Josiah's day into a peculiar people, holy and just, loving God and following God's law' (Montefiore, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 183), we must recognize the primary place in this conception of holiness which is taken by the simple laws of morality and fair dealing and sympathy with the needs and difficulties of others. We have already noticed such of these laws as could be tabulated in a code; it only remains to indicate here the stress laid on such conduct towards others as the truest service to Yahweh. Deuteronomy does not go to the length of some of the prophets in denouncing the formalities of

ritual, yet we cannot but feel that the worship of Yahweh finds, for the writers, its aptest and highest expression in obedience to Yahweh's laws, amongst which those of justice and mercy to all men are not counted the least by a just and merciful God.

IV. THE CANONICAL PLACE AND INFLUENCE OF DEUTERONOMY.

The Book of Deuteronomy is not only part of the canon of Scripture, it has been the nucleus in the formation of that canon. On many other books of the Bible the literary characteristics and the theological attitude of Deuteronomy have been strongly impressed; whilst it has been said with truth that 'Its influence on the domestic and personal religion of Israel in all ages has never been exceeded by that of any other book in the canon' (G. A. Smith, *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament*, p. 163).

I. Deuteronomy was the first book to be accepted by Israel as *authoritative Scripture*. Nothing of the literature of Israel was regarded as an authoritative standard of life and faith prior to the publication of Deuteronomy. The nearest approach to an earlier canon is found in the earlier collections of laws, such as the Book of the Covenant (Exod. xx. 22—xxiii. 19); but, probably, such collections were drawn up within the priestly circle to be private manuals, not public Bibles. As a law of God, a sentence was binding; so far there would be nothing new in the emergence of the Deuteronomic Code as compared with the oral law. But now, for the first time, the law is made accessible to the nation, after public acceptance, and the foundations of a book-religion are laid. By the time of the Maccabees (1 Macc. i. 56, 57) devotion to a written revelation has become the distinctive mark of Judaism, and we understand the force of the later Arabic phrase, applied to both Jews and Christians, 'the people

of the book.' This development is the direct outcome of the acceptance of Deuteronomy, and continues still further : 'The movement begun by Deuteronomy does not close within the period of the O. T.—its goal is the Talmud ; its course covers more than a thousand years. Deuteronomy does much to crystallize principles into rules, and thereby partly strangles the free prophetic life, to which it so largely owed its existence' (*E.B.*, 2744 : cf. Driver, pp. lxiv, lxv ; Marti, *op. cit.*, p. 65). Yet a written revelation, with all its perils, was required to meet the practical needs of religion. Because of it, Israel's exile could not destroy her faith ; it could only deepen her reverence and love for the existent literature, and for the oral traditions yet to be expanded and written, which were the distilled life of her past. Through all the vicissitudes of her subsequent history, those sacred books, of which Deuteronomy is the foundation, become the tower of her strength, the centre of her hopes. The historic truth of many centuries is behind that Talmudic parable which tells of the Jewish maiden parted from her lover, yet keeping troth with him through his long delay, because able to go into her chamber and read and reread his letters. Israel, wrote the Rabbis, is that maiden, entering her synagogues to study the writings of God. Nor is the faith of Israel alone bound in a debt of gratitude to the book-religion of Deuteronomy. The faith of the early Christian Church, from its lowliest adherent to its great apostle, was nourished on the principles preserved through a book-religion ; and we may forgive some of the fossilizing influences of Jewish legalism because it has kept in its bed of limestone the very forms of ancient faith for our present study and edification. So long as the ideal of Jeremiah awaits fulfilment, and the law of God remains unwritten on the heart, some external authority in religion, Bible or Church, will be necessary to correct the vagaries of the individual, and to develop the possibilities of the immature. Deuteronomy, at the head of the triple canon

of the O. T., may be said to contain in itself 'the law, the prophets, and the writings.' Itself a law-book primarily, it is the outcome of prophetic teaching; whilst the two poems of its appendix link it with the chief representative of the third canon, i. e. the Psalter.

II. In regard to *the literary and theological influence of Deuteronomy*, the first point to notice is the relation of the book to the contemporary prophet Jeremiah. The fact that a close relation exists is unmistakable. A selection from the many parallels between the two books is given by Driver, p. xciii; he remarks: 'reminiscences from Deuteronomy, consisting often of whole clauses, are interwoven with phrases peculiar to Jeremiah himself; and even where the words are not actually the same, the thought, and the oratorical form—the copious diction, and sustained periods—are frequently similar' (p. xcii: cf. Deut. iv. 29, and Jer. xxix. 13; iv. 34 and xxxii. 21; v. 33 and vii. 23; xviii. 20 and xxix. 23; xxviii. 52 and v. 17, out of a very large number of cases). Two explanations have been given of this closeness of relation. The older one is that Jeremiah himself was interested in the Deuteronomic reform, and wrote largely under its influence (e. g. Montefiore, *op. cit.*, p. 194). One passage in particular expressly supports this view (Jer. xi. 1-14) in which the prophet is sent to speak to the men of Judah and Jerusalem 'the words of this covenant,' which, in view of the terms used, can be no other than the Deuteronomic. But even those who have taken this view have been compelled to admit that Jeremiah was disappointed with the course of the Deuteronomic reform (e. g. Cheyne, *Jeremiah*, p. 107). No other explanation could well be given of the famous passage which speaks of the need for a new covenant, more spiritually received: 'I will put my law in their inward parts, and in their heart will I write it . . . and they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know Yahweh: for they shall all know me' (Jer. xxxi. 33, 34).

‘Clearly, then,’ wrote Cheyne in 1888, ‘Jeremiah must before this have begun to be disappointed with Deuteronomy. He may have read it privately—this perhaps we may argue from his continued allusions to it; but in public he confined himself to reproducing its more spiritual, more prophetic portions’ (*op. cit.*, p. 107). It is to be noted that Jeremiah directly opposes the doctrine of the inviolable sanctity of Jerusalem and its temple (chap. xxvi), and is distinctly recognized in this as a successor to Micah (verse 18), whilst his protest at the gate of Yahweh’s house is worthy of the eighth-century prophets: ‘Trust ye not in lying words, saying, The temple of Yahweh, the temple of Yahweh, the temple of Yahweh, are these’ (vii. 4). There is, indeed, one passage in which Jeremiah seems to be attacking the abuses to which a written revelation would lend itself, if he is not criticizing Deuteronomy itself: ‘How do ye say, We are wise, and the law of Yahweh is with us? But, behold, the false pen of the scribes hath wrought falsely’ (viii. 8). The newer criticism of the Book of Jeremiah, of which Duhm’s commentary may be taken as representative, regards the Deuteronomic parallels as later additions, when the lyrical poems of Jeremiah were worked up into a continuous prophecy. (This would include even the passage in the eleventh chapter to which reference has been made; the writer of it argued that since Jeremiah was a contemporary of the Deuteronomic reform, he must, as a prophet of Yahweh, have been concerned in it—which is the way in which much history has been written, even to our own day.) But, even if this extreme view in regard to Jeremiah be ultimately adopted, the strong influence of Deuteronomy is the more clearly indicated, in that it prevailed *against* the principles of Jeremiah; whilst the practical failure of the Deuteronomic reform to which the Book of Jeremiah witnesses (vi. 16–21; xxxiv. 8 f.) only throws into contrast the literary dominance of Deuteronomy over the subsequent history and literature

of Israel, of which the present Book of Jeremiah would itself be an example.

A further example of that dominance is supplied by the Book of Kings in its present form: 'Henceforward history becomes an exponent of legal theory' (Gray, *E.B.*, c. 2735); 'there seems, indeed, to have quickly formed itself a regular school of writers upon the Deuteronomic pattern, who looked at history and religion from the Deuteronomic point of view' (Montefiore, *op. cit.*, p. 193). Reference should be made to the *Century Bible* edition of Kings (Skinner) for the copious evidence that the compiler worked from the standpoint of Deuteronomy (see, especially, the Introduction, pp. 14-18). He selects his material from a religious standpoint; he traces the prosperity or adversity of the nation to its obedience or disobedience to Deuteronomic law; he judges the character of the line of kings by their loyalty or disloyalty to the Yahweh of Deuteronomy. Hezekiah, for example, because of his earlier reform on Deuteronomic lines, receives the commendation: 'He trusted in Yahweh, the God of Israel; so that after him was none like him among all the kings of Judah, nor among them that were before him' (2 Kings xviii. 5). Manasseh, who built again the high places which his father had destroyed (2 Kings xxi. 3 f.), though he escapes without personal disaster, has stored up retributive adversity for his people: 'I will wipe Jerusalem as a man wipeth a dish, wiping it and turning it upside down' (verse 13), is Yahweh's word over Manasseh's reign. We have become so accustomed to these verdicts on the monarchs of Israel, that it is difficult to pass behind them. Yet these kings are praised or pilloried by an unhistoric method; they stand or fall by their compliance with or rejection of a book they never saw. For the Law-book which is mentioned in Kings is, throughout, Deuteronomy (cf. Driver, xci. n.): the manner of reference shows this, for example, in David's charge to Solomon (1 Kings ii. 3),

'Keep the charge of Yahweh thy God, to walk in His ways, to keep His statutes, and His commandments, and His judgements and His testimonies, according to that which is written in the Law of Moses, that thou mayest prosper in all that thou doest, and whithersoever thou turnest thyself'; the reference is doubtless to the special paragraph in Deuteronomy urging the study of the book on the monarchs of Israel.

This Deuteronomic redaction extends, though in a less marked degree in the case of Samuel, over the whole of the 'Former Prophets,' as they are called—viz. Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings (Budde, *E.B.*, 660), and the influence of Deuteronomic phraseology may be traced in certain books of the third canon—viz. Nehemiah, Daniel, and Chronicles (Driver, p. xcii).

In all this influence it is the doctrine of Yahweh's retributive righteousness which is central, and the Book of Job shows us how absolutely and completely this had become the orthodox tenet of Israel. In the Book of Deuteronomy that doctrine was applied to the nation as a whole; individuals were involved in the fate of the nation, as in the destruction of a whole city contaminated by alien worship (Deut. xiii. 12-16). But though, as we have seen, the rights of the individual in criminal law are recognized, the individual aspects of the law of retribution are not yet fully realized. The powerful protest of Job was necessary against the belief that suffering and innocence were incompatible; it is not that disobedience is not punished, but that the suffering which is punishment in one case may be discipline in another, or more particularly, may be neither of these, but man's opportunity to witness to his disinterested principles, and to his loyal obedience to God. The powerful assertion of this in Job testifies indirectly to the power of the Book of Deuteronomy, whose doctrine eventually made the protest necessary.

III. An adequate description of the influence of

Deuteronomy on the personal religion of Israel would become a history of the people under this special aspect. But some points in particular may be noted in which the influence of the book, alone, or in conjunction with the Torah, has been noteworthy. The briefest reference must be made to the Torah school and the Torah instruction of the synagogue, and to the zeal for the perfect fulfilment of the Torah which finds its expression in Pharisaism. More significant for our present purpose is that recognition of family life, and insistence on religious instruction within the family, which Deuteronomy displays, and to which Israel as a whole has so loyally responded (vi. 7, cf. 20). The reception of proselytes was a feature of the greatest importance in the centuries about the Christian era; how large a part these proselytes played in the extension of Christianity every reader of the Acts of the Apostles knows. Yet this welcoming spirit towards those without springs largely from the attitude towards strangers so strongly urged in the Book of Deuteronomy; and the monotheism and imageless worship of the Jews, which centre in that book, constituted the chief attraction for many of the proselytes to Judaism.

In characteristic details of Jewish religion the influence of Deuteronomy is very clearly shown. The pious Jew of Christ's day showed his piety visibly in three ways—by the Zizith, the tassels of blue or white wool worn on the four corners of the upper garment; by the Mezuzah, the little box fixed to the right doorpost of houses or rooms, which contained a small roll inscribed with certain portions of Scripture; by the Tephillin or Phylacteries worn by the male Israelite on arm or head at morning prayer¹. Each of these observances rests on a Deuteronomic command (xxii. 12; vi. 9, and xi. 20; vi. 8, and xi. 18). A marked feature of Jewish piety, as every

¹ Schürer, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, vol. ii. § 28. iv. (Eng. Trans., div. ii. vol. ii. p. 111 f.)

one will have noticed who has watched a pious Jew at meal-time, is the elaborate thanksgiving; this is based upon the command, 'And thou shalt eat and be full, and thou shalt bless Yahweh thy God for the good land which He hath given thee' (viii. 10). The daily prayer of Judaism, its confession of faith, to be recited morning and evening by every adult male Israelite, is made up of the two cardinal passages taken from Deuteronomy (vi. 4-9 and xi. 13-21), with the addition of a third from Numbers (xv. 37-41) (Schürer, vol. ii. § 27; Taylor, *op. cit.*, Exc. iv). It was this prayer that Rabbi 'Aquila was reciting when the executioners were combing his flesh with combs of iron: 'All my days I have been troubled about this verse, Thou shalt love the Lord . . . *with all thy soul*, even if He should take away thy spirit. When, said I, will it be in my power to fulfil this? Now that I have the opportunity, shall I not fulfil it?' So he dwelt on the word *one* (God) till he expired (Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 54). There is the Jewish religion at its highest and its lowest; its literalism and triviality on the one hand, its splendid passion of self-devotion on the other. In the Book of Deuteronomy both are represented.

The influence of Deuteronomy on the New Testament, so far as it admits of being traced, is as great as we might have expected. There are about thirty quotations, made from some nineteen passages, but the less direct references are at least eighty (Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, p. 383; Westcott and Hort, *New Testament*, App.). Characteristic use of Deuteronomy is made by that Hebrew of the Hebrews, Paul; he cites, for example, the command not to muzzle the ox when treading out the corn, as proof that Christian ministers may be paid for their work (I Cor. ix. 9: cf. Deut. xxv. 4); he extends a warning about Yahweh's employment of other nations to the admission of the Gentiles into the kingdom (Rom. x. 19: cf. Deut. xxxii. 21): he does not hesitate to apply the eloquent passage about the nearness

of the Deuteronomic commands to practical life to the equal practicability of the new word of the Gospel: 'The word is nigh thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart: that is, the word of faith which we preach' (Rom. x. 6-8: cf. Deut. xxx. 12-14). But much more striking and interesting is the use of Deuteronomy made by Jesus. As He drew the idea of His ministry from the passage He read in the synagogue at Nazareth (Isa. lxi: cf. Luke iv. 16 f.), and afterwards used in His reply to John's inquiry (Matt. xi. 4 f.); as He based His disregard of social conventions in mixing with publicans on that prophetic word, 'I will have mercy, and not sacrifice' (Matt. ix. 13: cf. Hos. vi. 6); and as He uttered both the depths and the heights of His experience on the Cross in two words taken from the Psalter ('My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' 'Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit': Matt. xxvii. 46: cf. Ps. xxii. 1; Luke xxiii. 46: cf. Ps. xxxi. 5); so we find Him drawing spiritual nourishment on two important occasions from the Book of Deuteronomy. The first is His temptation in the desert; we cannot but be impressed by the fact that His assertion of a higher principle than self-satisfaction, His rebuke of the folly that would presume on the Divine patience, His refusal to serve God and mammon, are all expressed in Deuteronomic words (Matt. iv. 3 f.; Luke iv. 3 f.: cf. Deut. viii. 3, vi. 16, and vi. 13). How much He must have loved this book, when His spiritual struggle finds this natural expression in its language! And not less significant a testimony to the influence of Deuteronomy is supplied by the fact that He summarizes the whole of the law and the prophets in a verse taken from Deuteronomy, and in another from the less likely book of Leviticus (Matt. xxii. 37; Mark xii. 29 f.; Luke x. 27: cp. Deut. vi. 5). We must add to these two primary references those others in which He bases the relations of members of the new community on Deuteronomic principles of justice ('that at the mouth of two witnesses or three every

word may be established'—Matt. xviii. 16: cf. Deut. xix. 15), and that He extends a Deuteronomic ideal (xviii. 13) from the narrower realm of the avoidance of superstition till it covers the whole horizon of social morality ('Ye therefore shall be perfect, as your Heavenly Father is perfect': Matt. v. 48).

NOTES ON LITERATURE

The commentaries used in the preparation of the notes to this edition are those by—

Dillmann (Numeri, Deuteronomium, und Josua², *Kurz. Exeg. Handb.*, 1886).

Driver (Deuteronomy, *International Critical Comm.*, 1895).

Steuernagel (Deuteronomium, *Hand-Komm. z. A. T.*, 1898).

Bertholet (Deuteronomium, *Kurz. Hand-Comm.*, 1899).

The English reader who desires fuller notes than the necessarily bare and dogmatic statements here made should consult Driver; as an introduction to the book, and to some of its principal topics, A. Harper's 'The Book of Deuteronomy' in *The Expositor's Bible* may be mentioned. The article on 'Deuteronomy,' by Ryle, in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible* (cited as *D. B.*) (i. pp. 596-603), is largely based on Driver; that by Moore, in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (cited as *E. B.*) (i. c. 1079-94), is an admirable and terse statement of the contents and problems of the book, and with its critical analysis the present writer is in general agreement. The subject-matter of Deuteronomy is, of course, discussed in all histories of Israel or introductions to the O. T.; amongst these may be named in particular Stade's *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*², i. pp. 641-71 (1889); Wellhausen's *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte*³, 1897; Smend's *Alttestamentliche Religionsgeschichte*², 1899; Stade's *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments* (pp. 260-9), 1905. The critical problems in connexion with the *original* contents of the Reformation Law-book are difficult and complicated, and are still under vigorous discussion. Amongst recent literature on this subject may be named :—

Cullen, *The Book of the Covenant in Moab*, 1903 (reviewed by the writer in *The Critical Review*, 1904; regards Deut. v-xi as the discovered book, to which the laws were added later, since 'a new law-code is usually not the instrument, but the outcome of a successful revolution').

Fries, *Die Gesetzesschrift des Königs Josia*, 1903 (the Law-book of Josiah seen in Exod. xxxiv. 11-26, not in Deuteronomy).

Bötticher, *Das Verhältnis des Deuteronomiums zu 2 Kön.* xxii, xxiii, *und zur Prophetie Jeremia*, 1906. (Accepts chaps. xii-xxvi, xxviii as the Josianic Law-book, and gives a useful survey of the present state of Deuteronomic criticism.)

Klostermann, *Der Pentateuch*, 1907 (*Das deuteronomische Gesetzbuch*, pp. 154-428).

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

- J.** The narrative by (Judæan?) writers from B.C. 850, using the name *Yahweh* (Jehovah, R. V., LORD).
- E.** The narrative by Ephraimite writers from B.C. 750, using the name *Elohim* (God).
- JE.** The 'prophetic' narrative of the Hexateuch, resulting from the combination of J and E.
- P.** The 'priestly' narrative and legislation (exilic and post-exilic).
- D.** The original Book of Deuteronomy, discovered in B.C. 621.
- D².** Pre-exilic additions to D.
- D³.** Exilic additions to D.
- R.** Additions by various redactors; sometimes further classified by a raised letter, e.g. **R^D**, the Deuteronomic redactor. In Deut. xxxii, xxxiii, **R?** denotes the use of earlier (unknown) sources by the redactor.

Cook. S. A. Cook, *The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi*.

D.B. Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*.

E.B. *Encyclopaedia Biblica*.

G.V.I. Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*.

H.G.H.L. G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*.

L.O.T. Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*.

O.T.J.C. W. Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*².

Oxf. Hex. *The Hexateuch*, edited by J. Estlin Carpenter and G. Harford-Battersby.

Rel. Sem. W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*.

S.B.O.T. *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament: Leviticus* (S. R. Driver and H. A. White); *Joshua* (W. H. Bennett).

Z.A.T.W. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*.

(Where Bertholet, Dillmann, Driver, and Steuernagel are cited without further specification, the reference is to their commentaries on Deuteronomy named above.)

THE LEGISLATIVE CODES OF THE O. T.

The laws of the O. T. fall into four distinct codes, differing in character and date, though now editorially combined without regard to their origin.

i. The earliest of these, found in connexion with the prophetic narratives of the Hexateuch (JE), is known as *the Book of the Covenant* (Exod. xx. 3—xxiii. 19), with which is to be grouped the Decalogue (Exod. xx. 2-17) and the earlier Decalogue underlying Exod. xxxiv. 10-26. This code is prior to the eighth century B. C., and reflects a simple society, with agriculture as its chief interest.

ii. For *the Deuteronomic Code* of the seventh century B. C. see above, pp. 23 f.

iii. A special code of exilic origin, closely related to Ezekiel, and found in Lev. xvii-xxvi, is known as *the Law of Holiness* (H).

iv. *The Priestly Code* (P), post-exilic, and promulgated in 444 B. C. (Neh. viii-x), runs through the Pentateuch, especially Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, and is concerned almost entirely with the regulation of worship.

An example of the differences and development in these codes will be found on p. 38 (footnote on 'Sacrifices').

THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY

REVISED VERSION WITH ANNOTATIONS

THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY

[D²] THESE be the words which Moses spake unto all ¹ Israel beyond Jordan in the wilderness, in the ^a Arabah over against ^b Suph, between Paran, and Tophel, and Laban, and Hazeroth, and Di-zahab. It is eleven days' ² journey from Horeb by the way of mount Seir unto Kadesh-barnea. [P] And it came to pass in the fortieth ³ year, in the eleventh month, on the first day of the month, that Moses spake unto the children of Israel, according unto all that the LORD had given him in commandment unto them; [D²] after he had smitten Sihon the king of ⁴ the Amorites, which dwelt in Heshbon, and Og the king of Bashan, which dwelt in Ashtaroth, at Edrei: beyond ⁵

^a That is, the deep valley running North and South of the Dead Sea.

^b Some ancient versions have, *the Red Sea*.

i. 1-5. *Introductory Note, Geographical and Chronological, to the First Address of Moses.* 'All Israel,' in the characteristic phrase of Deuteronomy, is supposed to be gathered 'beyond Jordan' (i. e. east of it, from the standpoint of a writer of West Palestine), in the place to which previous adventures have brought the nation (cf. Num. xxxiii. 49, xxxvi. 13). The apparent definition of this place, however, in the first verse, is obscure and uncertain. The names given are unidentified for this locality, whilst Suph, Paran, and Hazeroth have already occurred in the account of the wanderings of Israel. Probably, therefore, the second half of this verse, with verse 2, is the misplaced fragment of a list of desert halting-places.

2. **Horeb** (D, E) = Sinai (J, P); different names for the same mountain.

the way of mount Seir, i. e. of the Edomite district, east of the Arabah. The phrase thus designates the most eastern of the three main roads between Sinai and the south of Palestine.

Kadesh-barnea = 'Ain-Kadīs, fifty miles south of Beersheba.

3. The chronological note (characteristic of P) links the book with the scheme of the previous narrative of the Pentateuch. It is continued in xxxii. 48.

4. **Sihon**, &c. : see Num. xxi. 21—xxii. 1; also notes on ii. 26 f.

Jordan, in the land of Moab, began Moses to declare
 6 this law, saying, The LORD our God spake unto us in
 Horeb, saying, Ye have dwelt long enough in this
 7 mountain: turn you, and take your journey, and go to
 the hill country of the Amorites, and unto all *the places*
 nigh thereunto, in the Arabah, in the hill country, and in
 the lowland, and in the South, and by the sea shore, the
 land of the Canaanites, and Lebanon, as far as the great
 8 river, the river Euphrates. Behold, I have set the land
 before you: go in and possess the land which the LORD

5. **began . . . to declare:** rather, 'undertook to expound' this Deuteronomic law which follows (after lengthy introductions). The word for 'law' properly means 'direction' or 'instruction,' which more general sense may be intended here.

i. 6—iv. 40. *The First Address of Moses.* It consists of a historical review of Israel's adventures since leaving Sinai (i. 6—iii. 29) and a hortatory peroration (iv. 1-40), part, or all, of which appears to be a later addition. The statements made are based, sometimes even verbally, on JE in Exodus and Numbers.

i. 6-18. Yahweh's command to journey from Horeb to the Promised Land (verses 6-8). Moses, feeling his responsibility, asked for assistance in the government of the people, to which they agreed (verses 9-14). Leading men were accordingly appointed, and charged by Moses to observe strict impartiality in judgement (verses 15-18).

6. See Exod. xxxiii. 1.

7. In this description of the Promised Land, **the hill-country of the Amorites** appears to describe Palestine generally by its principal topographical feature, the Central Range (cf. verses 20 and 44); **the Arabah** (verse 1, R. V. marg.) here refers to its northern part, now El-Ghôr, the Jordan Valley to the Dead Sea; **the hill country** is the special term for the mountains of Judah and Ephraim; **the lowland** (Shephelah), the lower hills and moorland lying between the Central Range and the Maritime Plain; **the South** (Negeb) is the dry district south of the mountains of Judah; **the sea shore**, or plain along the coast of the Mediterranean, is further defined by **the land of the Canaanites**, i. e. Phœnicia, cf. Josh. xiii. 4; **the Lebanon** stands broadly for the northern territory, whilst **the Euphrates** is given as the (ideal) limit of a territory much larger than Israel ever occupied (cf. xi. 24).

sware unto your fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, to give unto them and to their seed after them. And 9 I spake unto you at that time, saying, I am not able to bear you myself alone: the LORD your God hath 10 multiplied you, and, behold, ye are this day as the stars of heaven for multitude. The LORD, the God of your 11 fathers, make you a thousand times so many more as ye are, and bless you, as he hath promised you! How can 12 I myself alone bear your cumbrance, and your burden, and your strife? Take you wise men, and understanding, 13 and known, according to your tribes, and I will make them heads over you. And ye answered me, and said, 14 The thing which thou hast spoken is good *for us* to do. So I took the heads of your tribes, wise men, and known, 15 and made them heads over you, captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds, and captains of fifties, and captains of tens, and officers, according to your tribes. And I charged your judges at that time, saying, Hear *the* 16 *causes* between your brethren, and judge righteously between a man and his brother, and the stranger that is

8. For the promise to **Abraham**, cf. Gen. xii. 7, xxii. 16. &c. (for the comparison of his seed to the stars in number (verse 10), Gen. xv. 5, xxii. 17); **Isaac**, Gen. xxvi. 3; **Jacob**, Gen. xxviii. 13.

9. **I spake unto you at that time**: according to Exod. xviii. 18, the suggestion was due to Jethro; according, also, to the present place of that narrative, the incident occurred *before* the visit to Horeb.

15. Exod. xviii. 13 f. (cf. Num. xi. 16 f.). The modern parallel is the moral authority of the Bedouin sheikh, which rests ultimately on the pressure of the family on its members. The higher *Ḳaḍī* will correspond to Moses here. 'This judicial activity of the heads of tribes and clans we must, of course, regard, not as an innovation, but as an ancient usage' (*E.B.* 2718: 'Law and Justice').

16. **the stranger that is with him**: Heb. 'his *gēr*', the settled foreigner, here given equal rights with the native Israelite (x. 19, xiv. 21, xxiv. 17, xxvii. 19). 'The care taken by Israelite law to protect strangers finds no parallel in Babylonia' (S. A. Cook, *The Laws of Moses*, p. 276).

- 17 with him. Ye shall not respect persons in judgement ; ye shall hear the small and the great alike ; ye shall not be afraid of the face of man ; for the judgement is God's : and the cause that is too hard for you ye shall bring
 18 unto me, and I will hear it. And I commanded you at that time all the things which ye should do.
- 19 And we journeyed from Horeb, and went through all that great and terrible wilderness which ye saw, by the way to the hill country of the Amorites, as the LORD our God commanded us ; and we came to Kadesh-barnea.
- 20 And I said unto you, Ye are come unto the hill country of the Amorites, which the LORD our God giveth unto
 21 us. Behold, the LORD thy God hath set the land before thee : go up, take possession, as the LORD, the God of thy fathers, hath spoken unto thee ; fear not, neither be
 22 dismayed. And ye came near unto me every one of you, and said, Let us send men before us, that they may

17. the judgement is God's : primarily by the sacred oracle or lot (note on Joshua vii. 14) ; secondarily, as interpreted by suitable men speaking in His name.

i. 19-46. Israel, arriving at Kadesh-barnea, was bidden to enter the land from the south (verses 19-21). The report of the spies, sent at the desire of the people (verses 22-5), discouraged them (verses 26-8), notwithstanding the exhortation of Moses (verses 29-31). Their cowardice angered Yahweh, who decreed that Caleb and Joshua, and the children only of the present generation should eventually enter (verses 32-40). The people, however, persisted in making the attempt, in spite of the Divine warnings (verses 41-3), with the result that they were defeated by the Amorites (verses 44-6).

19. that great and terrible wilderness : (viii. 15) the barren limestone plateau (Et-Tih : see the geological maps in *E.B.*, 1208-9) between the peninsula of Sinai-Horeb and the south of Palestine. From its most southern projection into the peninsula to Beersheba the distance is 170 miles ; to Kadesh-barnea (cf. verse 2) somewhat less.

22. According to Num. xiii. 1 f. (P), these spies are sent at the command of Yahweh.

search the land for us, and bring us word again of the way by which we must go up, and the cities unto which we shall come. And the thing pleased me well: and ²³ I took twelve men of you, one man for every tribe: and ²⁴ they turned and went up into the mountain, and came unto the valley of Eshcol, and spied it out. And they ²⁵ took of the fruit of the land in their hands, and brought it down unto us, and brought us word again, and said, It is a good land which the LORD our God giveth unto us. Yet ye would not go up, but rebelled against the ²⁶ commandment of the LORD your God: and ye murmured ²⁷ in your tents, and said, Because the LORD hated us, he hath brought us forth out of the land of Egypt, to deliver us into the hand of the Amorites, to destroy us. Whither are we going up? our brethren have made ²⁸ our heart to melt, saying, The people is greater and

24. the valley of Eshcol: an explorer's name ('grape-cluster') assigned for the occasion (Num. xiii. 23, 24); not otherwise known or identified, but in the neighbourhood of Hebron (Num. xiii. 22). The grape, in particular, deserves to be called **the fruit of the land** (verse 25); the vine becomes almost the national emblem of Israel (1 Kings iv. 25, &c.; Isa. v. 2; Jer. ii. 21; Ezek. xv; Matt. xxi. 33 f.; John xv. 1).

25. Cf. Num. xiii. 23, where the spies bring back grapes, pomegranates, and figs.

27. in your tents, as being unwilling to unite for common action. For the true meaning of the phrase 'To your tents, O Israel!' see note on Joshua xxii. 4.

28. our heart to melt. What is to us a figure was to the primitive Hebrew the literal description of a fact, perhaps suggested by the coagulation of blood in and about the heart of a slain animal. Though the circulation of the blood was, of course, unknown, the quickened heart-beat of fear might be connected with the 'melting' of the central blood-organ. The phrase occurs in xx. 8; Joshua ii. 11, v. 1, vii. 5, xiv. 8; Ezek. xxi. 7; Nah. ii. 10; Isa. xiii. 7, xix. 1. In Ps. xxii. 14, the heart is compared to wax, melting (and running down) amongst the viscera. Elsewhere it is said to become soft (Job xxiii. 16, &c.).

taller than we ; the cities are great and fenced up to heaven ; and moreover we have seen the sons of the
 29 Anakim there. Then I said unto you, Dread not, neither
 30 be afraid of them. The LORD your God who goeth before you, he shall fight for you, according to all that he did
 31 for you in Egypt before your eyes ; and in the wilderness, where thou hast seen how that the LORD thy God bare thee, as a man doth bear his son, in all the way that ye
 32 went, until ye came unto this place. Yet ^a in this thing ye did not believe the LORD your God, who went before you in the way, to seek you out a place to pitch your tents in, in fire by night, to shew you by what way ye
 34 should go, and in the cloud by day. And the LORD heard the voice of your words, and was wroth, and sware, saying, Surely there shall not one of these men of this evil generation see the good land, which I sware to give
 36 unto your fathers, save Caleb the son of Jephunneh, he shall see it ; and to him will I give the land that he hath trodden upon, and to his children : because he hath
 37 wholly followed the LORD. Also the LORD was angry with me for your sakes, saying, Thou also shalt not go in
 ^a Or, *for all this thing*

Anakim : perhaps 'the (long-)necked people,' or giants ; Num. xiii. 22, 28, 33 ; Deut. ii. 10, 11, 21, ix. 2 ; Joshua xi. 21, 22, xiv. 12, 15, xv. 13, 14, xxi. 11 ; Judges i. 20. This race, of colossal stature to Hebrew eyes, was specially connected with Hebron and its vicinity.

31. bare thee : for similar expressions of the warm and helpful attachment of Yahweh to His people, cf. xxxii. 11 ; Exod. xix. 4 ; esp. Hos. xi. 3 ; Isa. xlvi. 3.

32. 'Yet notwithstanding this word (of mine) ye were not trusting Yahweh your God.'

33. See Exod. xiii. 21.

36. Caleb : Num. xiv. 24 (JE) ; xiv. 30 (P ; with Joshua). The 'land' meant is that of Hebron and its district (cf. Joshua xiv. 12-14).

37. angry with me : the present composite narrative in Num.

thither : Joshua the son of Nun, which standeth before 38 thee, he shall go in thither : encourage thou him ; for he shall cause Israel to inherit it. Moreover your little 39 ones, which ye said should be a prey, and your children, which this day have no knowledge of good or evil, they shall go in thither, and unto them will I give it, and they shall possess it. But as for you, turn you, and take your 40 journey into the wilderness by the way to the Red Sea. Then ye answered and said unto me, We have sinned 41 against the LORD, we will go up and fight, according to all that the LORD our God commanded us. And ye girded on every man his weapons of war, and ^awere forward to go up into the mountain. And the LORD 42 said unto me, Say unto them, Go not up, neither fight ; for I am not among you ; lest ye be smitten before your

^a Or, *deemed it a light thing*

xx. 1-13 leaves us 'without any clear idea of the character of the sin,' though it appears to be 'an act of open rebellion, rather than of simple unbelief' (Gray, *Numbers*, pp. 258, 262). Moreover, the event is there 'cf. Deut. xxxii. 51) assigned to the closing period of Israel's wanderings. Here, as in iii. 26, iv. 21, the reason given for Yahweh's anger with Moses is quite different from that of P ; the anger is on account of the disobedience of the people ('for your sakes'). The event is thus assigned to the opening period of Israel's wanderings. The two forms of the tradition refer to the same spot, but at an interval of thirty-seven years.

38. Joshua : see on verse 36 and Josh. i. 1.

which standeth before thee : i.e. as an attendant or 'minister' (1 Kings x. 8).

39. a prey : Num. xiv. 3, 31. The guilty generation must give place to the innocent, hence the conventional 'forty' years of wandering (cf. ii. 14).

40. Red Sea : Heb. Yam Suph (sea of reeds?), here denoting the Gulf of 'Akabah (Num. xiv. 25 ; cf. 1 Kings ix. 26).

41. The emphasis of the Hebrew is apt to be lost by the English reader. The second 'we' is emphatic ; **we**, not our children, will enter.

were forward : R. V. marg. preferable.

- 43 enemies. So I spake unto you, and ye hearkened not ;
 but ye rebelled against the commandment of the LORD,
 and were presumptuous, and went up into the mountain.
 44 And the Amorites, which dwelt in that mountain, came
 out against you, and chased you, as bees do, and beat
 45 you down in Seir, even unto Hormah. And ye returned
 and wept before the LORD ; but the LORD hearkened
 46 not to your voice, nor gave ear unto you. So ye abode
 in Kadesh many days, according unto the days that ye
 abode *there*. *with you are on the way of the Red Sea*
 2 Then we turned, and took our journey into the
 wilderness by the way to the Red Sea, as the LORD
 spake unto me : and we compassed mount Seir many
 2, 3 days. And the LORD spake unto me, saying, Ye have
 compassed this mountain long enough : turn you north-

44. Num. xiv. 45. For the figure of the **bees** (number and ferocity) see Ps. cxviii. 12 ; Isa. vii. 18 ; perhaps the obscure reference to the hornets in vii. 20 springs from a misunderstood figure of the same kind.

in Seir, even unto Hormah : more probably, with the ancient versions, 'from Seir.' In Judges i. 17, Hormah ('the banned' city) is identified with Zephath, and Es-Sabaita, twenty-five miles north-east of Kadesh-barnea, has been suggested as the site.

45. Tears follow foolhardiness, as foolhardiness does timidity ; the psychology of Israel, as Bertholet remarks, is that of a child.

46. **many days** (the following words express idiomatically an indefinite period ; cf. xxix. 16 ; 2 Kings viii. 1 ; Zech. x. 8, and the similar Arabic idiom). Cf. ii. 1, of which verse the 'many days' are subsequently defined (verse 14) as thirty-eight years ; here they cannot mean more than a few months. See on ii. 14.

ii. 1-8^a. Israel, leaving Kadesh-barnea, wandered for many years in the south of Palestine. Finally, Yahweh bade them turn northward again and pass peaceably by Edom, which they accordingly did.

1. **we compassed mount Seir** : i.e. Edom (i. 2) : cf. Num. xxi. 4. In their aimless wanderings on the borders of Edom almost thirty-eight years are supposed to be spent (verses 7 and 14).

3. **northward** : 'The Israelites must be imagined by this time

ward. And command thou the people, saying, Ye are 4
to pass through the border of your brethren the children
of Esau, which dwell in Seir; and they shall be afraid of
you: take ye good heed unto yourselves therefore:
contend not with them; for I will not give you of their 5
land, no, not so much as for the sole of the foot to tread
on: because I have given mount Seir unto Esau for
a possession. Ye shall purchase food of them for money, 6
that ye may eat; and ye shall also buy water of them for
money, that ye may drink. For the LORD thy God hath 7
blessed thee in all the work of thy hand: he hath known
thy walking through this great wilderness: these forty
years the LORD thy God hath been with thee; thou hast
lacked nothing. So we passed by from our brethren the 8
children of Esau, which dwell in Seir, from the way of
the Arabah from Elath and from Ezion-geber.

to have made their way along the south-west and south border of Edom, as far as the south-east end of the 'Arabah, so that a turn northwards would at once lead them along the east border of Edom in the direction of Moab' (Driver, p. 34).

4. your brethren: as in the traditional story of the relationship of Jacob to Esau, 'the father of the Edomites' (Gen. xxxvi. 43). Israel appears to have been later in settlement than its Edomite kin (cf. verse 12, and Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 268). Friendly relations with Edom are enjoined in xxiii. 7, but were broken after the destruction of Jerusalem in 586.

pass through: i. e. some part of Edom's eastern territory; the narrative is thus formally distinct from that of Num. xx. 14-21, where, at an earlier point of time, permission to pass through Edom from Kadesh, on the west, is refused.

6. buy water: a valuable possession in such districts: see note on Josh. xv. 19.

7 gives the reason for Israel's proud independence of Edom.

8. passed by from: we should probably read (cf. LXX) 'passed through' (cf. verse 29); the present text may be due to the influence of Num. xx. 21 (Bertholet). Otherwise we must explain as 'from the neighbourhood of,' which the Hebrew allows.

the way of the Arabah, &c. Ezion-geber must have been near to Elath, the modern 'Akabah, at the north end of the gulf of

And we turned and passed by the way of the wilderness of Moab. And the LORD said unto me, Vex not Moab, neither contend with them in battle: for I will not give thee of his land for a possession; because I have given Ar unto the children of Lot for a possession.
 10 (The Emim dwelt therein aforetime, a people great, and
 11 many, and tall, as the Anakim: these also are accounted
 a Rephaim, as the Anakim; but the Moabites call them

^a See Gen. xiv. 5.

that name. From here Israel passes N.NE. towards Moab, leaving the road through the 'Arabah on their left.

ii. 8^b-15. Israel was forbidden to attack Moab (verses 8^b, 9). An archaeological note on the ancient inhabitants (verses 10-12). Reason for the length of Israel's wanderings (verses 13-15).

8^b. **the wilderness of Moab**: the uncultivated pasture-land east of the territory of Moab, the latter being at its full extent a district about sixty miles long by thirty broad, east of the Dead Sea, whose length is about fifty miles.

9. **Vex not**: rather, 'do not treat as a foe'; so verse 19.

Ar (cf. verse 18), named in two fragments of ancient poetry (Num. xxi. 15, 28), is the same place as 'the City of Moab' (Num. xxii. 36), at the east end of one of the Arnon valleys, but the exact site of this capital of Moab is unknown.

the children of Lot: (Ps. lxxxiii. 8) as is stated of the Moabites in Gen. xix. 37. The relationship with Israel, though less direct than in the case of Edom (verse 4), is sufficient to prevent attack.

10. The three verses (10-12) bracketed by R.V. are clearly an editorial note in regard to the earlier inhabitants of the territories of Moab (verses 10, 11) and Esau (verse 12). The conception of aborigines as giants is familiar to anthropology (cf. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, i. 387).

Emim: Gen. xiv. 5, where they are defeated by Chedorlamer at Kiriathaim, north of the Arnon. The name = 'terrors.' They are compared with the more familiar Anakim (i. 28), and, like them, are included in the general class known as

11. **Rephaim**: these are frequently named (e. g. Joshua xii. 4, xiii. 12, xvii. 15), Og of Bashan being their last survivor (iii. 11). Etymology most naturally, perhaps, connects them with 'shades' or ghosts; Stade, who takes this view (*G.V.I.*, i. 420) refers to Tylor, ii. 114, in support of it: 'In Madagascar, the worship of the spirits of the dead is remarkably associated with the Vazimbaz, the aborigines of the island.'

Emim. The Horites also dwelt in Seir aforetime, but ¹² the children of Esau succeeded them; and they destroyed them from before them, and dwelt in their stead; as Israel did unto the land of his possession, which the LORD gave unto them.) Now rise up, and get you over ¹³ the brook Zered. And we went over the brook Zered. And the days in which we came from Kadesh-barnea, ¹⁴ until we were come over the brook Zered, were thirty and eight years; until all the generation of the men of war were consumed from the midst of the camp, as the LORD sware unto them. Moreover the hand of ¹⁵ the LORD was against them, to destroy them from the midst of the camp, until they were consumed.

So it came to pass, when all the men of war were ¹⁶ consumed and dead from among the people, that the ¹⁷ LORD spake unto me, saying, Thou art this day to pass ¹⁸ over Ar, the border of Moab: and when thou comest ¹⁹ nigh over against the children of Ammon, vex them not, nor contend with them: for I will not give thee of the land of the children of Ammon for a possession: because

12. Horites: supposed to mean 'cave-dwellers,' for whom Edom makes abundant provision: cf. Gen. xiv. 6, xxxvi. 20 f.

as Israel did, in what, to the annotator, was the dim past, but in the address of Moses is still future.

13. the brook Zered: probably the Wady Kerak, running into the north bay of the Dead Sea formed by the peninsula El Lissan.

14. The tradition expressed in this verse is to be distinguished from that of the earlier narratives. 'According to JE the thirty-eight years in the wilderness were spent at Kadesh; according to Deuteronomy, they were spent *away* from Kadesh (ii. 14), in wandering about Edom' (ii. 1) (Driver, p. 33).

ii. 16-25. Ammon not to be attacked (verses 16-19). An archaeological note on the ancient inhabitants (verses 20-3). Israel is to attack and dispossess the Amorites (verses 24, 25).

19. Ammon, also descended from Lot (Gen. xix. 38; cf.

I have given it unto the children of Lot for a possession.
 20 (That also is accounted a land of Rephaim: Rephaim
 dwelt therein aforetime; but the Ammonites call them
 21 Zamzummim; a people great, and many, and tall, as the
 Anakim; but the LORD destroyed them before them;
 22 and they succeeded them, and dwelt in their stead: as
 he did for the children of Esau, which dwell in Seir,
 when he destroyed the Horites from before them; and
 they succeeded them, and dwelt in their stead even unto
 23 this day: and the Avvim which dwelt in villages as far
 as Gaza, the Caphtorim, which came forth out of
 Caphtor, destroyed them, and dwelt in their stead.)
 24 Rise ye up, take your journey, and pass over the valley
 of Arnon: behold, I have given into thine hand Sihon
 the Amorite, king of Heshbon, and his land: begin to
 25 possess it, and contend with him in battle. This day
 will I begin to put the dread of thee and the fear of thee
 upon the peoples that are under the whole heaven, who
 shall hear the report of thee, and shall tremble, and be
 in anguish because of thee.

Judges xi. 13, 22. The true territory of Ammon lay in the district drained by the upper Jabbok, with Rabbath Ammon as its centre (cf. verse 37; Num. xxi. 24, with Gray's note).

20. Zamzummim: perhaps the same as the Zuzim of Gen. xiv. 5; the name 'whisperers,' Schwally, W. R. Smith) appears to be connected with the same class of ideas as that noticed under Rephaim (verse 11).

23. Avvim: Joshua xiii. 3, where they are named with the Philistines. Here it is said that the Philistines (who came from **Caphtor**, Amos ix. 7, probably Crete) dispossessed the original inhabitants called Avvim; a parallel to the previous cases of dispossession.

24. the valley of Arnon: running from west to east through the centre of the original territory of Moab. The Moabites had, however, been driven south of the Arnon by **Sihon** (Num. xxi. 26). Consequently, by crossing this Wady, Israel passed into Amorite territory, and was no longer hindered from attack by the ties of blood existent in the case of Edom, Moab, and Ammon.

And I sent messengers out of the wilderness of 26
 Kedemoth unto Sihon king of Heshbon with words of
 peace, saying, Let me pass through thy land: I will go 27
^a along by the high way, I will neither turn unto the right
 hand nor to the left. Thou shalt sell me food for money, 28
 that I may eat; and give me water for money, that I
 may drink: only let me pass through on my feet; as the 29
 children of Esau which dwell in Seir, and the Moabites
 which dwell in Ar, did unto me; until I shall pass over
 Jordan into the land which the LORD our God giveth us.
 But Sihon king of Heshbon would not let us pass by 30
 him: for the LORD thy God hardened his spirit, and
 made his heart ^b obstinate, that he might deliver him into
 thy hand, as at this day. And the LORD said unto me, 31
 Behold, I have begun to deliver up Sihon and his land
 before thee: begin to possess, that thou mayest inherit
 his land. Then Sihon came out against us, he and all 32
 his people, unto battle at Jahaz. And the LORD our 33

^a Heb. *by the way, by the way.*

^b Heb. *strong.*

ii. 26-37. Israel sought to pass through Amorite territory, but was refused by Sihon (verses 26-31), who was, however, defeated and his land completely occupied (verses 32-37). Cf. Num. xxi. 21 f.

26. **Kedemoth** in the subsequent territory of Reuben (Joshua xiii. 18), but site unknown.

Heshbon, sixteen miles east of the Dead Sea mouth of the Jordan.

29. **Esau**: cf. verse 8; **Moabites**: see on xxiii. 4.

30. **spirit** (*ruach*), originally of (abnormal) energy and faculty imparted from without; subsequently of (normal) psychical activity, especially on its higher and more intellectual side.

heart: not only the physiological but also the psychical centre, to which all activities of thought and feeling can be ascribed.

as at this day (i. e. has taken place).

32. **Jahaz**: one of the cities afterwards taken by Mesha from Israel, and in the neighbourhood of Dibon (Moabite Stone, ll. 19-21). The site is unknown, but it must have been in the south-east corner of Sihon's territory cf. *H.G.H.L.* 559.

God delivered him up before us; and we smote him,
 34 and his ^a sons, and all his people. And we took all his
 cities at that time, and ^b utterly destroyed every ^cinhabited
 city, with the women and the little ones; we left none
 35 remaining: only the cattle we took for a prey unto
 ourselves, with the spoil of the cities which we had
 36 taken. From Aroer, which is on the edge of the valley
 of Arnon, and *from* the city that is in the valley, even
 unto Gilead, there was not a city too high for us: the
 37 LORD our God delivered up all before us: only to the
 land of the children of Ammon thou camest not near;
 all the side of the river Jabbok, and the cities of the hill
 country, and wheresoever the LORD our God forbad us.
 3 Then we turned, and went up the way to Bashan:
 and Og the king of Bashan came out against us, he and
 2 all his people, unto battle at Edrei. And the LORD said
 unto me, Fear him not: for I have delivered him, and
 all his people, and his land, into thy hand; and thou

^a Or, son^b Heb. devoted.^c Heb. city of men.

34. utterly destroyed: see note on xx. 17, and read 'devoted' in every case.

36. Aroer: one mile north of the Arnon; the unnamed city (Joshua xiii. 9, 16) may be Ar, mentioned in ii. 9; Gilead may here include the half of it south of the Jabbok, or refer to the northern half; in any case, Sihon's north boundary is the Jabbok itself (Num. xxi. 24; Joshua xii. 2).

37. See on verse 19.

iii. 1-7. Og of Bashan defeated, and his territory taken.

1-3. Cf. Num. xxi. 33-5, an insertion from the present passage.

1. Bashan: the wide district in the north-east, with the Yarmuk, Edrei, and Salecah (verse 10) marking its south boundary, and having the mountains of Hauran and Hermon on its east and north, and Geshur and Ma'acah (Joshua xii. 5, xiii. 11) (now the Jaulan) on its west. The name (with the Hebrew article) probably denotes the 'fertile' region.

at Hebrew 'to'. **Edrei** (i. 4) on the south boundary, and a principal city (verse 10); about thirty-three miles east of the south end of the Sea of Galilee.

shalt do unto him as thou didst unto Sihon king of the Amorites, which dwelt at Heshbon. So the LORD our 3 God delivered into our hand Og also, the king of Bashan, and all his people : and we smote him until none was left to him remaining. And we took all his cities at that 4 time ; there was not a city which we took not from them ; threescore cities, all the region of Argob, the kingdom of Og in Bashan. All these were cities fenced with high 5 walls, gates, and bars ; beside the ^a unwallled towns a great many. And we utterly destroyed them, as we did unto 6 Sihon king of Heshbon, utterly destroying every inhabited city, with the women and the little ones. But all the 7 cattle, and the spoil of the cities, we took for a prey unto ourselves. And we took the land at that time out 8 of the hand of the two kings of the Amorites that were beyond Jordan, from the valley of Arnon unto mount Hermon ; (*which* Hermon the Sidonians call Sirion, and 9 the Amorites call it Senir ;) all the cities of the ^b plain, 10 and all Gilead, and all Bashan, unto Salecah and Edrei, cities of the kingdom of Og in Bashan. (For only Og 11 king of Bashan remained of the remnant of the Rephaim ;

^a Or, *country towns* : ^b Or, *table land*

4. **Argob**, a section of Bashan, not now known (see verse 14) : *H.G.H.L.* 551.

iii. 8-17. The territory acquired east of Jordan was now allotted to Reuben, Gad, and half-Manasseh. Archaeological notes (verses 9, 11).

9. A later note giving two synonyms of Hermon. Sirion (Fs. xxix. 6), Senir (Ezek. xxvii. 5 ; Song of Sol. iv. 8 ; 1 Chron. v. 23), and Sion (iv. 48) may originally be names of different parts of Hermon.

10. **the plain** : the table-land (R. V. marg.) north of the Arnon (cf. iv. 43 ; Joshua xiii. 9) ; **Gilead** here covers the territory south and north of the Jabbok (see note on Joshua xxii. 9) ; **Bashan** (defined by two cities on its south border) completes the survey of territory east of the Jordan.

Salecah (Salchad), thirteen miles east of Bosrah, south of the Jebel Hauran.

behold, his bedstead was a bedstead of iron ; is it not in Rabbah of the children of Ammon ? nine cubits was the length thereof, and four cubits the breadth of it, ¹² after the cubit of a man.) And this land we took in possession at that time : from Aroer, which is by the valley of Arnon, and half the hill country of Gilead, and the cities thereof, gave I unto the Reubenites and to the ¹³ Gadites : and the rest of Gilead, and all Bashan, the kingdom of Og, gave I unto the half tribe of Manasseh ; ^a all the region of Argob, ^b even all Bashan. (The same ¹⁴ is called the land of Rephaim. [R] Jair the son of Manasseh took all the region of Argob, unto the border of the Geshurites and the Maacathites ; and called them, even Bashan, ^c after his own name, Havvoth-jair, unto

^a Or, *all the region of Argob.* (*All that Bashan is called, &c.*

^b Or, *with*

^c See Num. xxxii. 41.

11. a bedstead of iron : a sarcophagus of black basalt (of which large numbers are found in this district) is probably meant. The **cubit of a man**, or ordinary cubit (a phrase like Isaiah's 'pen of a man,' viii. 1), was probably one or other of the Egyptian cubits of 20.67 and 17.72 inches ; so that the supposed tomb of Og in Rabbath-Ammon (see on ii. 19) would be from thirteen to fifteen feet long, and from six to seven feet broad. For the **Rephaim**, see on ii. 11.

12. The country between the Arnon and the Jabbok was divided between Reuben and Gad, the half-tribe of Manasseh receiving the country north of the Jabbok (verse 13). Read with R.V. marg., at end of verse 13.

14. An insertion based on Num. xxxii. 41: cf. 1 Kings iv. 13. Here, however, these 'tent-villages' of Jair are wrongly placed in Bashan, as in the dependent passage, Joshua xiii. 30; the order of the Hebrew shows 'even Bashan' to be interpolated in the statement from Num. xxxii. 41. Cf. *H.G.H.L.* 551.

Jair: 1 Chron. ii. 22, where twenty-three cities are assigned to him in Gilead. Another tradition places him in the age of the Judges (Judges x. 4), with thirty cities.

the **Geshurites** and the **Maacathites**: Geshur, east of the Sea of Galilee, and Ma'acah, east of Lake Huleh; both in the Jaulan district, and still independent in David's time (2 Sam. iii. 3, x. 6).

this day.) And I gave Gilead unto Machir. And unto ^{15, 16} the Reubenites and unto the Gadites I gave from Gilead even unto the valley of Arnon, the middle of the valley, ^a and the border *thereof*; even unto the river Jabbok, which is the border of the children of Ammon; the ¹⁷ Arabah also, and Jordan and the border *thereof*, from Chinnereth even unto the sea of the Arabah, the Salt Sea, under the ^b slopes of Pisgah eastward.

[D²] And I commanded you at that time, saying, The ¹⁸ LORD your God hath given you this land to possess it: ye shall pass over armed before your brethren the children of Israel, all the men of valour. But your ¹⁹ wives, and your little ones, and your cattle, (I know that ye have much cattle,) shall abide in your cities which I have given you; until the LORD give rest unto your ²⁰ brethren, as unto you, and they also possess the land which the LORD your God giveth them beyond Jordan: then shall ye return every man unto his possession, which I have given you. And I commanded Joshua ²¹ at that time, saying, Thine eyes have seen all that the LORD your God hath done unto these two kings: so

^a Or, *for a border*

^b Or, *springs*

15-17. A doublet to verses 12, 13, taken from Num. xxxii. 40, Joshua xii. 2, 3.

16. and the border: read with R.V. marg. (so verse 17).

17. Chinnereth: see on Joshua xi. 2: the slopes of Pisgah, or 'cliffs' (see on Joshua x. 40): cf. iii. 27, xxxiv. 1.

iii. 18-22. Moses had pledged the warriors of the settled tribes to aid in the conquest of the territory west of Jordan (verses 18-20), and bidden Joshua take courage for the future from what he had seen (verses 21, 22).

18. I commanded you: Num. xxxii. 28 f.

19. much cattle: (Num. xxxii. 1) 'As a matter of fact, the pre-eminently pastoral (cf. Judges v. 16, 17^a) character of the tribes which remained east of Jordan must have been the result and not the cause of their settlement in this district' (Gray, *Numbers*, p. 427), which is proverbial for its pasture.

shall the LORD do unto all the kingdoms whither thou
 22 goest over. Ye shall not fear them : for the LORD your
 God, he it is that fighteth for you.

24 And I besought the LORD at that time, saying, O Lord
 God, thou hast begun to shew thy servant thy greatness,
 and thy strong hand : for what god is there in heaven or
 in earth, that can do according to thy works, and
 25 according to thy mighty acts? Let me go over, I pray
 thee, and see the good land that is beyond Jordan, that
 26 goodly mountain, and Lebanon. But the LORD was
 wroth with me for your sakes, and hearkened not unto
 me : and the LORD said unto me, Let it suffice thee ;
 27 speak no more unto me of this matter. Get thee up
 into the top of Pisgah, and lift up thine eyes westward,
 and northward, and southward, and eastward, and behold
 with thine eyes : for thou shalt not go over this Jordan.
 28 But charge Joshua, and encourage him, and strengthen
 him : for he shall go over before this people, and he
 shall cause them to inherit the land which thou shalt see.
 29 So we abode in the valley over against Beth-peor.

iii. 23-29. The prayer of Moses to be allowed to cross the Jordan (verses 23-5) is refused by Yahweh (verse 26), and he is bidden, instead, to look over the land from Pisgah (verse 27), and to commit the future to Joshua (verse 28). Close of review (verse 29).

24. what god is there : Exod. xv. 11 (see on vi. 4). Let Yahweh finish what he has begun (Phil. i. 6).

25. that goodly mountain : the hill-country west of Jordan.

26. was wroth (see on i. 37) : a strong word = 'overflowed with rage.'

27. See on xxxiv. 1.

28. charge : 'command' him (to do what you may not). The double 'he' is emphatic.

29. the valley over against Beth-peor—where speaker and hearers are supposed to be standing. The word for 'valley' denotes a glen or 'ravine,' one of those in the mountains of Abarim. Beth-peor (iv. 46, xxxiv. 6 ; Joshua xiii. 20) is unknown ; a mountain Peor is named, Num. xxiii. 28 : cf. Baal-Peor in iv. 3.

[D³] And now, O Israel, hearken unto the statutes 4
and unto the judgements, which I teach you, for to do
them ; that ye may live, and go in and possess the land

iv. 1-40. *Hortatory Conclusion to the First Address.* Exhortation to strict obedience as the condition of prosperity (verses 1-4). The Divine commands, if obeyed, will place Israel in a unique and enviable position (verses 5-8). Let what has been seen be remembered and taught, viz. the marvellous events at Horeb, when the invisible God was heard, and the terms of His covenant revealed (verses 9-14). The invisibility of Yahweh at Horeb ought to warn against all idolatry (verses 15-18) and star-worship (verse 19). Yahweh claims Israel for Himself (verse 20). He was angry with Moses on account of Israel ; let Israel beware lest, through idolatry, His jealous wrath be incurred (verses 21-4).

Idolatry will be followed by exile, with its attendant evils (verses 25-8). Yet, in exile, to seek Yahweh earnestly will be to find Him ; and he will remember His covenant in compassion (verses 29-31).

The uniqueness of the events at Horeb and of the deliverance from Egypt (verses 32-6). From such events let Israel know the uniqueness of Yahweh Himself (37-9). Obedience to Him will bring prosperity (verse 40).

The interpretation of chap. iv is, for the most part, sufficiently clear, but its critical analysis offers difficult problems, and there is much difference of opinion amongst scholars in regard to them. The fact that exhortation should follow a historical review is natural enough : but it may fairly be asked whether the former does not end abruptly (iii. 29) without adequate transition to the exhortation of iv. 1 f. Further, if chaps. i-iii and iv. 1-40 originally formed a unity, we should expect the peroration to make some use of the facts already reviewed ; yet, whilst chaps. i-iii deal with incidents subsequent to Horeb, iv. 9-24 and 32-40 are dominated by the thought of Horeb itself and its significance, practically no use being made of what has preceded. In regard to Horeb, a marked difference of statement emerges. In iv. 10 f., 32-5, emphasis is laid on the fact that those now addressed actually *saw* with their own eyes the wonders of the Divine revelation ; in i. 35, 39 f., cf. ii. 14, 15, that generation is represented as passing away before the entrance into the Promised Land. One section of this chapter (verses 25-31) appears to presuppose the experiences of exile. In view of these, and other considerations, it seems probable that the greater part, if not the whole of this chapter, is an exilic expansion of Deuteronomic truths.

1. **statutes and . . . judgements** : as often in this book : so far as any distinction of terms is to be emphasized in such a standing

which the LORD, the God of your fathers, giveth you.
 2 Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you,
 neither shall ye diminish from it, that ye may keep the
 commandments of the LORD your God which I command
 3 you. Your eyes have seen what the LORD did because
 of Baal-peor: for all the men that followed Baal-peor,
 the LORD thy God hath destroyed them from the midst
 4 of thee. But ye that did cleave unto the LORD your
 5 God are alive every one of you this day. Behold, I have
 taught you statutes and judgements, even as the LORD
 my God commanded me, that ye should do so in the
 6 midst of the land whither ye go in to possess it. Keep
 therefore and do them; for this is your wisdom and your
 understanding in the sight of the peoples, which shall
 hear all these statutes, and say, Surely this great nation is
 7 a wise and understanding people. For what great nation
 is there, that hath ^a a god so nigh unto them, as the LORD
 8 our God is whensoever we call upon him? And what
 great nation is there, that hath statutes and judgements
 so righteous as all this law, which I set before you this
 9 day? Only take heed to thyself, and keep thy soul
 diligently, lest thou forget the things which thine eyes

^a Or, *God*

phrase, the 'statute' is an 'engraved' decree, whilst the 'judgement' is the decision of a judge on some actual case, regarded as a precedent.

2. Cf. Rev. xxii. 18, 19. Bertholet points out that the idea of a canon of scripture is already given in these words. Hammurabi concludes his code with an elaborate curse on the man who alters his sentences (see *Introd.*, p. 20).

3. **because of Baal-peor**: more probably, *in* the place called after the god, 'Baal of Peor,' lord of the district Peor (see on iii. 29). Cf. Num. xxv. 1-5; Hos. ix. 10.

7. **a god**: or 'gods.' For the attitude to other gods, cf. iii. 24. Israel's religion is unique by its ready access to Yahweh (verse 7), and by its ethical character (verse 8).

saw, and lest they depart from thy heart all the days of thy life; but make them known unto thy children and thy children's children; the day that thou stoodest ¹⁰ before the LORD thy God in Horeb, when the LORD said unto me, Assemble me the people, and I will make them hear my words, that they may learn to fear me all the days that they live upon the earth, and that they may teach their children. And ye came near and stood ¹¹ under the mountain; and the mountain burned with fire unto the heart of heaven, with darkness, cloud, and thick darkness. And the LORD spake unto you out of the ¹² midst of the fire: ye heard the voice of words, but ye saw no form; only *ye heard* a voice. And he declared ¹³ unto you his covenant, which he commanded you to perform, even the ten ^a commandments; and he wrote them upon two tables of stone. And the LORD commanded ¹⁴

^a Heb. *words*.

9. heart: see on ii. 30; here the seat of memory. **Soul** is simply a stronger synonym for 'self' with no psychological reference: so in verse 15 R.V. (yourselves). Note the emphasis, prominent in Deuteronomy, on the duty of the religious teaching of children. They belong to the unity of the nation ('thou, thy').

10. Horeb: Exod. xix, esp. verse 9 f.

11. Exod. xix. 17 f.

12. An argument against idolatry, on the ground that He who was **heard** at Horeb was not **seen**.

13. covenant: (cf. Josh. xxiv. 25) properly an agreement of any kind, like that between Abraham and Abimelech (Gen. xxi. 32) or between Syria and Israel (1 Kings xx. 34). The agreement between David and Jonathan, first apparently of 'brotherhood' (1 Sam. xviii. 3), and then that David should be the future king, and Jonathan the chief minister (xxiii. 17, 18), was made 'before Yahweh' (xxiii. 18: cf. xx. 8), i.e. under the solemn sanctions of religion. The idea of an agreement between man and man was extended to that of one between man and God in the covenant of Sinai (Exod. xix. 5) confirmed by the slaughter of victims (Exod. xxiv. 8: cf. Gen. xv. 9 f.). This idea is prominent in Deuteronomy and dependent writers. The terms of the agreement made at Sinai (Exod. xxiv. 7, 8, xxxiv. 10, 27), as binding on Israel, are stated in **the ten commandments**, or 'words,' so that

me at that time to teach you statutes and judgements, that ye might do them in the land whither ye go over to possess it. Take ye therefore good heed unto yourselves ; for ye saw no manner of form on the day that the LORD spake unto you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire : lest ye corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image in the form of any figure, the likeness of male or female, the likeness of any beast that is on the earth, the likeness of any winged fowl that flieth in the heaven, the likeness of any thing that creepeth on the ground, the likeness of any fish that is in the water under the earth : and lest thou lift up thine eyes unto heaven, and when thou seest the sun and the moon and the stars, even all the host of heaven, thou be drawn away and worship them, and serve them, which the LORD thy God hath divided unto all the

the Decalogue itself can be called ' the covenant ' of Yahweh. Cf. Driver, pp. 67, 68, on whose very full note the above is based.

16. corrupt yourselves : rather ' do corruptly ' (verse 25 : cf. Isa. i. 4 R. V., ' deal corruptly ').

graven image : (Exod. xx. 4 ; Deut. v. 8) properly a figure cut or hewn out of wood (Isa. xl. 20) or stone (Isa. xxi. 9) ; but the name (*pésel*) is extended to images in general when of cast metal (Isa. xl. 19). **Figure** = image or statue.

17. Cf. Ezek. viii. 10. ' All the great deities of the northern Semites had their sacred animals, and were themselves worshipped in animal form, or in association with animal symbols, down to a late date ' (*Rel. Sem.* 288). The explanation of such phenomena seems to lie in totemism, especially in the idea of kinship between animals and men, and of communion with the god through the sacred animal.

18. under the earth : see the diagram of the early Semitic conception of the universe in the *Century Bible*, ' Genesis,' p. 66. The water is that of ' the great deep ' (Gen. vii. 11), the supposed source of springs and rivers (cf. Ezek. xxxi. 4).

19. drawn away : xxx. 17 ; for the idea cf. Job xxxi. 26.

the host of heaven : xvii. 3 ; 2 Kings xvii. 16 : doubtless with special reference to the star-worship of Assyria and Babylonia.

hath divided : (see xxix. 26 R. V. marg.) for worship.

peoples under the whole heaven. But the LORD hath ²⁰
 taken you, and brought you forth out of the iron furnace,
 out of Egypt, to be unto him a people of inheritance, as
 at this day. Furthermore the LORD was angry with me ²¹
 for your sakes, and sware that I should not go over
 Jordan, and that I should not go in unto that good land,
 which the LORD thy God giveth thee for an inheritance :
 but I must die in this land, I must not go over Jordan : ²²
 but ye shall go over, and possess that good land. Take ²³
 heed unto yourselves, lest ye forget the covenant of the
 LORD your God, which he made with you, and make you
 a graven image in the form of any thing which the LORD
 thy God hath forbidden thee. For the LORD thy God is ²⁴
 a devouring fire, a jealous God.

When thou shalt beget children, and children's chil- ²⁵
 dren, and ye shall have been long in the land, and shall
 corrupt yourselves, and make a graven image in the form
 of any thing, and shall do that which is evil in the sight
 of the LORD thy God, to provoke him to anger : I call ²⁶
 heaven and earth to witness against you this day, that ye
 shall soon utterly perish from off the land whereunto ye

20. you : emphatic in the Hebrew.

iron furnace : i. e. one whose fire is fierce enough to melt iron ; so, of Egypt also, Jer. xi. 4 ; 1 Kings viii. 51 : cf. Isa. xlviii. 10.

a people of inheritance : i. e. for Yahweh Himself : cf. vii. 6, ix. 29, xiv. 2, xxvi. 18.

21. angry with me : i. 37, iii. 26, though 'sware' introduces a new feature.

24. a devouring fire (ix. 3) ; **a jealous God** (v. 9, vi. 15) ; i. e. terrible in His wrath, exclusive in His claims.

25. have been long : Hebrew 'have fallen asleep,' i. e. become lethargic. Omit the words **to anger**. **Corrupt yourselves** should be 'do corruptly.'

26. heaven and earth : as abiding and outlasting the changes of human life (xxx. 19, xxxi. 28, xxxii. 1 : see note on Josh. xxiv. 27, the stone of witness).

go over Jordan to possess it ; ye shall not prolong your
 27 days upon it, but shall utterly be destroyed. And the
 LORD shall scatter you among the peoples, and ye shall be
 left few in number among the nations, whither the LORD
 28 shall lead you away. And there ye shall serve gods, the
 work of men's hands, wood and stone, which neither see,
 29 nor hear, nor eat, nor smell. But if from thence ye
 shall seek the LORD thy God, thou shalt find him, if thou
 search after him with all thy heart and with all thy soul.
 30 When thou art in tribulation, and all these things are
 come upon thee, ^ain the latter days thou shalt return to the
 31 LORD thy God, and hearken unto his voice : for the LORD
 thy God is a merciful God ; he will not fail thee, neither
 destroy thee, nor forget the covenant of thy fathers which
 32 he swore unto them. For ask now of the days that are
 past, which were before thee, since the day that God
 created man upon the earth, and from the one end of
 heaven unto the other, whether there hath been *any*
such thing as this great thing is, or hath been heard like
 33 it? Did ever people hear the voice of God speaking
 out of the midst of the fire, as thou hast heard, and
 34 live? Or hath God assayed to go and take him a nation

^a Or, *if in the latter days thou return*

28. Cf. Jer. xvi. 13. To leave one's own land is to leave the god linked to its fortunes (1 Sam. xxvi. 19 ; 2 Kings xvii. 25), and the idea lingers when practical monotheism has been reached (verses 35, 39), and the idol has become the butt of Hebrew sarcasm, as in exilic prophecy (Isa. xlv. 12 f.).

29 f. The passage presupposes the condition of the exiles, to whose spiritual need the writer would minister.

30. in the latter days: Hebrew 'in the end of the days,' i. e. the climax or goal of some particular period, often with a Messianic reference (Hos. iii. 5 ; Isa. ii. 2 = Mic. iv. 1).

31. merciful: rather 'compassionate'; the conception stands in contrast to verse 24.

fail: rather 'let fall' (Joshua i. 5).

33. God, or 'a god' (so verse 34).

from the midst of *another* nation, by ^a temptations, by signs, and by wonders, and by war, and by a mighty hand, and by a stretched out arm, and by great terrors, according to all that the LORD your God did for you in Egypt before your eyes? Unto thee it was shewed, that thou mightest 35 know that the LORD he is God; there is none else beside him. Out of heaven he made thee to hear his voice, that 36 he might instruct thee: and upon earth he made thee to see his great fire; and thou heardest his words out of the midst of the fire. And because he loved thy fathers, 37 therefore he chose their seed after them, and brought thee out with his presence, with his great power, out of Egypt; to drive out nations from before thee greater and mightier 38 than thou, to bring thee in, to give thee their land for an inheritance, as at this day. Know therefore this day, and 39 lay it to thine heart, that the LORD he is God in heaven above and upon the earth beneath: there is none else. And thou shalt keep his statutes, and his commandments, 40 which I command thee this day, that it may go well with thee, and with thy children after thee, and that thou mayest prolong thy days upon the land, which the LORD thy God giveth thee, for ever.

^a Or, *trials* Or, *evidences*

34. temptations: R.V. marg. 'trials' is to be read, viz. those of Pharaoh, by the plagues of Egypt, to which the 'signs' and 'wonders' also refer.

35. there is none else beside him: cf. verse 39. The explicit monotheism implies a later standpoint than that of chaps. v f. See on vi. 4.

36. Exod. xix. 16, 18: instruct is not an adequate rendering. The Hebrew word 'denotes, not the instruction of the intellect, but the discipline or education of the moral character' (Driver).

37. with his presence (Exod. xxxiii. 14: cf. Isa. lxiii. 9)—i. e. personally: cf. 2 Sam. xvii. 11 (R. V. marg.). For 'therefore he' read 'and,' closely connecting verses 37 and 38 with verse 39 (know, therefore, &c.).

loved: characteristic of Deuteronomy (vii. 8, 13, x. 15, xxiii. 5).

41 [P] Then Moses separated three cities beyond Jordan
 42 toward the sunrising; that the manslayer might flee thither,
 which slayeth his neighbour unawares, and hated him not
 in time past; and that fleeing unto one of these cities he
 43 might live: *namely*, Bezer in the wilderness, in the ^a plain
 country, for the Reubenites; and Ramoth in Gilead, for
 the Gadites; and Golan in Bashan, for the Manassites.

44 [D] And this is the law which Moses set before the
 45 children of Israel: [R^D] these are the testimonies, and
 the statutes, and the judgements, which Moses spake

^a Or, *table land*

iv. 41-43. *Moses Assigns Three Cities of Refuge East of Jordan.*
 This note is without any relation to what precedes or follows,
 and was probably inserted here for want of a more convenient
 place. In xix. 1 f. we read the commandment to appoint cities of
 refuge west of Jordan, but there is no reference to any previous
 appointment, nor, indeed, to the east district at all (unless the
 additional three of verse 8 f. be so understood). According to
 Num. xxxv. 14 (P), three cities of refuge are to be assigned east,
 and three west of Jordan. The present passage is most simply
 understood as the statement that Moses fulfilled on the east of
 Jordan the command there given to him, and is therefore added
 by a writer acquainted with P. The question is, however, com-
 plicated by the mention of these eastern cities in Joshua xx. 8 (P),
 where they are assigned by Joshua, as if the present section were
 non-existent. Moreover, verse 42 is obviously drawn from xix.
 3-5, so that the late writer who made this insertion was familiar
 both with D and P.

43. Bezer (rebuilt by Mesha, Moabite Stone, l. 27): perhaps
 Kusr el-Besheir, two miles south-west of Dibon.

Ramoth in Gilead: (1 Kings xxii. 3, &c.) site disputed, but
 probably in the north 'near the Yarmuk, for it was on debatable
 ground between Aram and Israel' (*H.G.H.L.*, 587).

Golan, also unknown, whose name has descended in that of
 the district Gaulanitis, east of the Sea of Galilee.

iv. 44-49. *Title and short Introduction to the Deuteronomic Code.*
 This section forms a *parallel* to, not a continuation of, i-iv. 40,
 which it ignores. It is possible that with verse 44 we begin the
 original Deuteronomy. But this title has been expanded (a) by
 the addition of the title in verse 45, (b) by a series of details as to
 time and place, summarized from chaps. i-iii.

unto the children of Israel, when they came forth out of Egypt; beyond Jordan, in the valley over against Beth-peor, in the land of Sihon king of the Amorites, who dwelt at Heshbon, whom Moses and the children of Israel smote, when they came forth out of Egypt: and they took his land in possession, and the land of Og king of Bashan, the two kings of the Amorites, which were beyond Jordan toward the sunrising; from Aroer, which is on the edge of the valley of Arnon, even unto mount Sion (the same is Hermon), and all the Arabah beyond Jordan eastward, even unto the sea of the Arabah, under the ^a slopes of Pisgah.

[D] And Moses called unto all Israel, and said unto them, Hear, O Israel, the statutes and the judgements which I speak in your ears this day, that ye may learn them, and observe to do them. The LORD our God made a covenant with us in Horeb. The LORD made not this covenant with our fathers, but with us, even us,

^a Or, *springs*

46 f. Cf. iii. 29, i. 4, ii. 32 f., iii. 8, ii. 36, iii. 9, 17. 'Sion,' as a name for Hermon, is the only new element.

v-xxvi. The original 'Book of the Law' is thought, almost universally, to be contained within the limits of chaps. v-xxvi, xxviii (see Introd., § 1); but no single theory, from among the many that have been formed as to the precise elements, has secured general acceptance. Our present Book of Deuteronomy represents chaps. v-xxvi as the continuous (second) address of Moses to Israel.

v. 1-21. Moses begins his delivery of the Deuteronomic law by reference to the covenant made in Horeb, at which his hearers were present (verses 1-3). He then acted as mediator between Yahweh and Israel (verses 4-5) for the delivery of the 'Ten Commandments' (verses 6-21).

2. Horeb: see on i. 2, and note relation to iv. 1-40 (above, p. 75); covenant, iv. 13 note.

3. All the hearers were present at Horeb; this representation agrees with that of the (dependent) section iv. 1-40 (cf. verses 10,

4 who are all of us here alive this day. The LORD spake
 with you face to face in the mount out of the midst of
 5 the fire, (I stood between the LORD and you at that time, to
 shew you the word of the LORD: for ye were afraid be-
 cause of the fire, and went not up into the mount;) saying,
 6 ^a I am the LORD thy God, which brought thee out of
 the land of Egypt, out of the house of ^b bondage.
 7 Thou shalt have none other gods ^c before me.

^a See Ex. xx. 2. ^b Heb. *bondmen*. ^c Or, *beside me*.

32-5), but directly contradicts that of the (independent?) section i-iii: cf. i. 35, 39 f., ii. 14, 15.

4. **face to face** seems to exclude the mediation of Moses, asserted by verse 5 (added from Exod. xix. 20, xx. 19?).

6f. The Decalogue, to whose earlier and more familiar form R. V. marg. refers. Still earlier than Exod. xx. 2-17 (E) is the very different table of 'the ten words' (the Hebrew name for the Decalogue) apparently embedded in Exod. xxxiv. 10-26 (J); Wellhausen's reconstruction is quoted by Driver, *L.O.T.* p. 37. We are here concerned only with the characteristics of D's form of the Decalogue in contrast with that in E. These are—(a) more definite or emphatic statement; (b) recognition of the higher status of the wife; (c) substitution of a philanthropic motive for keeping the Sabbath. A good summary of the teaching of the Decalogue will be found in Paterson's article in *D.B.* (i. 582). There has been much difference of opinion as to its age and authorship, and some scholars still maintain a Mosaic original, whilst admitting addition of later laws (e.g. ii and iv,) or amplification of the original words. Its almost exclusive concern with morality, however (contrast the ritual 'ten words' of Exod. xxxiv. 10-26), seems to connect it with the prophetic teaching of the eighth century (cf. Addis, *E.B.* 1050), of which it may be regarded as a compendium. In the arrangement of the Ten Commandments familiar to English readers, they fall into two sets of five, beginning at verse 7, the first set dealing with the spiritual worship of Yahweh and with respect for parents, the second with the prohibition of immoral acts towards men. In the Jewish division, however, verse 6 is taken as the first word, and verses 7, 8 are taken together as the second (see *E.B.* 1050; Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, p. 120).

7. **before me**: probably 'in addition to me' (cf. R. V. marg.); the phrase leaves open the question as to the real existence of other gods; but see on vi. 4.

Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image, *the* 8
likeness of any form that is in heaven above, or that is in
 the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth :
 thou shalt not bow down thyself unto them, nor serve 9
 them : for I the LORD thy God am a jealous God, visiting
 the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon
 the third and upon the fourth generation of them that
 hate me ; and shewing mercy unto ^a thousands, of them 10
 that love me and keep my commandments.

Thou shalt not take the name of the LORD thy God ^b in 11
 vain : for the LORD will not hold him guiltless that taketh
 his name in vain.

Observe the sabbath day, to keep it holy, as the LORD 12
 thy God commanded thee. Six days shalt thou labour, 13
 and do all thy work : but the seventh day is a sabbath 14
 unto the LORD thy God : *in it* thou shalt not do any work,
 thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy manservant,
 nor thy maidservant, nor thine ox, nor thine ass, nor any
 of thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates ;
 that thy manservant and thy maidservant may rest as well
 as thou. And thou shalt remember that thou wast a 15

^a See Ex. xx. 6.

^b Or, *for vanity or falsehood*

8. a graven image : E continues 'or any form' for D's 'even any form,' as do the versions here. In Exod. xxxiv. 17 it is the 'molten god,' a special and more artificial product, that is forbidden.

10. R. V. marg. suggests by reference the marginal alternative 'a thousand generations,' which is preferable (cf. vii. 9).

11. in vain : put for misuse in the widest sense, including false swearing or purposes of superstition (magical rites and incantations).

12. Observe : more direct than E's 'remember.' D adds 'as Yahweh thy God commanded thee.'

14. D adds 'thine ox, nor thine ass, nor any of'; also the last clause 'that thy manservant and thy maidservant may rest as well as thou,' with which is connected the striking difference in the next verse.

15. and thou shalt remember, &c. This is the most impor-

servant in the land of Egypt, and the LORD thy God brought thee out thence by a mighty hand and by a stretched out arm: therefore the LORD thy God commanded thee to keep the sabbath day.

16 Honour thy father and thy mother, as the LORD thy God commanded thee: that thy days may be long, and that it may go well with thee, upon the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee.

17 Thou shalt do no murder.

18 Neither shalt thou commit adultery.

19 Neither shalt thou steal.

20 Neither shalt thou bear false witness against thy neighbour.

21 ^a Neither shalt thou covet thy neighbour's wife; neither shalt thou desire thy neighbour's house, his field, or his manservant, or his maidservant, his ox, or his ass, or any thing that is thy neighbour's.

^a [Ver. 18 in Heb.]

tant difference between D and E. For the remote and wholly theoretical reason of E, claiming the day as Yahweh's, D substitutes characteristically the humanitarian motive (cf. xv. 13 f., xvi. 11, xxiv. 14 f.) of giving needed rest to dependents. This is reinforced by appeal to the memory of Israel's own needs in Egypt (cf. xv. 15, xvi. 12, xxiv. 18, 22).

16. D adds 'as Yahweh thy God commanded thee,' also 'and that it may go well with thee,' the latter being characteristic of this book's doctrine of providence (v. 29, vi. 18, xii. 25, 28, xxii. 7). Cf. Eph. vi. 2, 3.

17. In the Hebrew papyrus found at Fayûm and now at Cambridge, the prohibition of adultery precedes that of murder (text in *Z.A.T.W.*, 1903, p. 348).

20. **false witness**: D has a different word for 'false' (= vain, verse 11).

21. D adds 'his field,' and recognizes the higher status of the wife by placing her first instead of second (after 'house'), and by using a distinct verb (covet . . . desire; with more physical suggestion?) in regard to the other possessions. Augustine, followed by Roman Catholics and Lutherans, carries this distinction further by making two commandments of verse 21. (He combines i and ii.)

These words the LORD spake unto all your assembly 22
 in the mount out of the midst of the fire, of the cloud,
 and of the thick darkness, with a great voice: and he
 added no more. And he wrote them upon two tables of
 stone, and gave them unto me. And it came to pass, 23
 when ye heard the voice out of the midst of the darkness,
 while the mountain did burn with fire, that ye came near
 unto me, even all the heads of your tribes, and your
 elders; and ye said, Behold, the LORD our God hath 24
 shewed us his glory and his greatness, and we have heard
 his voice out of the midst of the fire: we have seen this
 day that God doth speak with man, and he liveth. Now 25
 therefore why should we die? for this great fire will
 consume us: if we hear the voice of the LORD our God
 any more, then we shall die. For who is there of all 26
 flesh, that hath heard the voice of the living God
 speaking out of the midst of the fire, as we have, and
 lived? Go thou near, and hear all that the LORD our 27
 God shall say: and speak thou unto us all that the LORD
 our God shall speak unto thee; and we will hear it, and
 do it. And the LORD heard the voice of your words, 28
 when ye spake unto me; and the LORD said unto me, I
 have heard the voice of the words of this people, which
 they have spoken unto thee: they have well said all that

Steuernagel compares xxi. 10 f., xxii. 13 f., xxiv. 1 f., as similar attempts of Deuteronomy to raise the position of women.

v. 22-33. Moses recalls the manner in which the Decalogue was delivered (verse 22), and the request of the people that they might no more hear the voice of Yahweh, but might receive His messages through Moses (verses 23-7). This request was approved by Yahweh, who appointed Moses as mediator (verses 28-31). Let Israel, therefore, obey and prosper (verses 32, 33).

22. A parallel narrative is given in ix. 9-11: cf. Exod. xxxi. 18.

27. **thou**: emphatic in the Hebrew, in both places.

28. For the request, see Exod. xx. 19; its approval by Yahweh is not otherwise recorded.

- 29 they have spoken. ^a Oh that there were such an heart in them, that they would fear me, and keep all my commandments always, that it might be well with them, and
 30 with their children for ever ! Go say to them, Return ye
 31 to your tents. But as for thee, stand thou here by me, and I will speak unto thee all the commandment, and the statutes, and the judgements, which thou shalt teach them, that they may do them in the land which I give
 32 them to possess it. Ye shall observe to do therefore as the LORD your God hath commanded you : ye shall not turn
 33 aside to the right hand or to the left. Ye shall walk in all the way which the LORD your God hath commanded you, that ye may live, and that it may be well with you, and that ye may prolong your days in the land which ye shall possess.
- 6 Now this is the commandment, the statutes, and the judgements, which the LORD your God commanded to teach you, that ye might do them in the land whither ye
 2 go over to possess it : that thou mightest fear the LORD thy God, to keep all his statutes and his commandments, which I command thee, thou, and thy son, and thy son's son, all the days of thy life ; and that thy days may be prolonged.
- 3 Hear therefore, O Israel, and observe to do it ; that it
- ^a Or, *Oh that they had such an heart as this alway, to fear me, and keep all my commandments, that, &c.*

29. R. V. marg. preferable. The steady purpose of the heart is contrasted with transient fear, prompting the ready pledge to obey.

30. For the formula of dismissal, cf. note on Joshua xxii. 4.

31. **all the commandment**: (xi. 22, xix. 9) including the Deuteronomic Code as a whole.

vi. 1-3. Exhortation to obey the law now to be communicated, since obedience will bring prosperity.

1 connects directly with v. 31.

2. **fear**: in this context, practically 'reverence,' and not to be contrasted with the 'love' of verse 5, with which it is in harmony.

may be well with thee, and that ye may increase mightily, as the LORD, the God of thy fathers, hath promised unto thee, in a land flowing with milk and honey.

Hear, O Israel : ^athe LORD our God is one LORD : and 4, 5

^a Or, *the LORD our God, the LORD is one* Or, *the LORD is our God, the LORD is one* Or, *the LORD is our God, the LORD alone*

3. in a land : The 'in' is supplied by R. V. to the incomplete Hebrew. Read with LXX, 'to give to thee a land.'

milk and honey : as often in JE (Exod. iii. 8, &c.). They are enumerated amongst the products of the land in xxxii. 13, 14, and their selection, in this standing phrase, is frequently explained from the tastes of Bedouins. Greek parallels, however, perhaps suggest a reference to the cult of Dionysus, as though Canaan were said to produce 'food for the gods' (*Z.A.T.W.*, 1902, p. 321 f.).

vi. 4-9. Yahweh has the sole claim to Israel's love and memory. This paragraph, with which is joined xi. 13-21 and Num. xv. 37-41, forms the famous Jewish 'Shema' appointed for recitation by every Jew morning and evening (Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, p. 116 f.; Schürer, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, § 27, Appendix), whose name is taken from the first Hebrew word (Eng. 'hear'). The whole decalogue is held to be latent in the Shema' (Taylor, *l. c.*, who quotes the proof texts); Christ Himself declared the opening words of the Shema' to be the first commandment, comprehensive of all duty towards God (Mark xii. 29; Matt. xxii. 37; cf. Luke x. 27, 28).

4. the LORD our God is one LORD : the Hebrew words are, 'Yahweh our God Yahweh one,' and their exact translation and interpretation is much disputed, as the three marginal variations of the R. V. suggest. The rendering of the R. V. text, though that of Dillmann (p. 269) and Driver (p. 89) is open to the serious criticism that Yahweh is a proper name, and can hardly admit of the epithet 'one' before it, since there is no other god bearing this name (cf. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 116). The first margin is questioned on the ground that 'Yahweh our God is one' would have been the more natural way of expressing this, without resumption of the subject by the second Yahweh. The second margin is said to be 'less forcible rhetorically' (Driver) than the text. The third margin, the rendering of Ibn Ezra, is followed by the two most recent commentators, Steuernagel and Bertholet, and is most in harmony with the context, since verse 5 claims the whole-hearted love of Israel for Yahweh (alone), and nothing suggests a contrast with the local Baals, who are not 'one' but many. The objection to this view is that we might have expected another Hebrew word (*lebadde* : cf. 2 Kings xix. 15; Ps. lxxxvi. 10), to express

thou shalt love the LORD thy God with all thine heart,
 6 and with all thy soul, and with all thy might. And these
 words, which I command thee this day, shall be upon
 7 thine heart : and thou shalt teach them diligently unto
 thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in
 thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when
 8 thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou
 shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they

‘alone’; but the present word (*ehād*) is found in this sense in 1 Chron. xxix. 1, where it is rendered ‘alone’ by R. V. ‘The sentence makes no statement concerning the existence or non-existence of other gods, but simply emphasizes the fact that there is only one God for Israel, and that Israel must honour no other god beside Him’ (Steuernagel, p. 25). If we call this monotheism, the term must be interpreted historically, not philosophically. The existence of other gods is, at least nominally, recognized in verse 14; the Hebrew was content here to assert the exclusive claim and the incomparable and unique right of Yahweh to his devotion. A more explicit statement of monotheism is found in the (later) passage iv. 35, 39 (‘there is none else’): cf. xxxii. 39.

5. ‘The love of God . . . is set forth in Deuteronomy with peculiar emphasis as the fundamental motive of human action’ (Driver, p. 91). Both thought and feeling, the whole personality, owe allegiance to Yahweh; there must be no compromise with other cults.

6. **these words**: i. e. verse 4 f. as the epitome of the teaching of the book.

upon thine heart: the psychical centre of memory and of love: cf. Jer. xxxi. 33; for a parallel to the whole passage, see xi. 18-21. These words are to become a theme of living interest, at home and abroad, at the beginning and end of the day (verse 7).

7. **teach . . . diligently**: or ‘impress,’ a strong word, here only.

8. This verse became the scriptural basis for the ‘phylacteries’ of the N. T. (*tephillin*). It is matter of dispute whether the original meaning of the words is literal or figurative. In Exod. xiii. 16 the same words are clearly applied figuratively, which is some reason for taking them figuratively here (as do Steuernagel and Bertholet). On the other hand, the next verse seems intended literally, in view of the fact that this book elsewhere (xxvii. 3, 8) commands the law to be written actually on stones (Dillmann). The literal view (Dillmann, Driver) seems here more probable; its best explanation is that of Benzinger

shall be for frontlets between thine eyes. And thou shalt write them upon the door posts of thy house, and upon thy gates.

And it shall be, when the LORD thy God shall bring thee into the land which he swore unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, to give thee; great and goodly cities, which thou buildedst not, and houses full of all good things, which thou filledst not, and cisterns hewn out, which thou hewedst not, vineyards and olive trees, which thou plantedst not, and thou shalt eat and be full; then beware lest thou forget the LORD, which brought thee forth out of the land of Egypt, out of the

(*E.B.* 1566, 'Frontlets'), viz. that in this way the amulets worn by Israelites from ancient times were consecrated to the use of Yahweh. The actual usage of Judaism cannot, however, be traced back earlier than the first century B. C. The *tephillin* are leather pouches fixed to a band, and containing slips of parchment on which the *Shema* and *Exod. xiii. 1-10, 11-16*, are written. One is worn on the left arm turned towards the heart, the other between the eyebrows, at morning and evening prayer (*Benzinger, l.c.*).

9. The custom finds parallels from ancient and modern Egypt, and from other countries (examples in Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant*, p. 68 f.). The *mezusa* (originally 'doorpost') is the small metal case, containing its inscribed parchment, similar to that of the *tephillin*, fixed to the right-hand doorpost of Jewish houses, and touched at entrance and exit. So used, it tends to become an amulet for warding off evil from the house; not, as the present passage intends, a stimulus to constant memory of Yahweh. The Babylonians, in the same way, appear to have hung up tablets, with reference to the plague-god, when a plague broke out (*Jastrow, Babylonian-Assyrian Religion*, p. 269 n.).

vi. 10-15. The peril of the Promised Land will be that of forgetting Yahweh's deeds and worshipping the gods of the country; thus will Yahweh be angered.

11. **cisterns**: not wells, but reservoirs for the storage of water; separately named because an important feature of the Eastern house during the dry season. *Mesha* (*Moabite Stone*, l. 24) writes, 'There was no cistern in the midst of the city . . . and I said to all the people, "Make you every man a cistern in his own house."'

- 13 house of bondage. Thou shalt fear the LORD thy God ;
and him shalt thou serve, and shalt swear by his name.
- 14 Ye shall not go after other gods, of the gods of the
15 peoples which are round about you ; for the LORD thy
God in the midst of thee is a jealous God ; lest the anger
of the LORD thy God be kindled against thee, and he
destroy thee from off the face of the earth.
- 16 Ye shall not tempt the LORD your God, as ye tempted
17 him in Massah. Ye shall diligently keep the command-
ments of the LORD your God, and his testimonies, and
18 his statutes, which he hath commanded thee. And thou
shalt do that which is right and good in the sight of the
LORD : that it may be well with thee, and that thou
mayest go in and possess the good land which the LORD
19 sware unto thy fathers, to thrust out all thine enemies
from before thee, as the LORD hath spoken.
- 20 When thy son asketh thee in time to come, saying,

12. the house of bondage: see note on Joshua xxiv. 17 :
cf. verse 21.

13. swear by his name : i. e. no other deity but Yahweh is to
be recognized in the invocations of oaths (cf. Ps. lxiii. 11). The
solemn appeal confined to the one true God is not a contradiction
of, but a step towards, the more ethical and spiritual conception
which substitutes a 'Yea' and a 'Nay' for all oaths (Matt. v.
34-7).

14. see on verse 4 (end).

15. a jealous God: cf. iv. 24. The context suggests how
crudely this anthropomorphism is to be interpreted. The 'other
gods' are primarily the local Baals of Canaan, in the writer's view.

vi. 16-19. Yahweh's presence not to be put to trial, but His
law obeyed, that Israel may dwell prosperously in Canaan.

16. tempt: rather 'test' or 'prove': cf. Exod. xvii. 7.
'Massah' is connected with the Hebrew word translated 'test'
(*nissah*) : cf. ix. 22.

vi. 20-25. The law of Yahweh is to be justified to future
generations by the story of His deliverance of Israel from Egypt ;
the Law, like the deliverance, is a manifestation of Divine grace.

What mean the testimonies, and the statutes, and the judgements, which the LORD our God hath commanded you? then thou shalt say unto thy son, We were ²¹ Pharaoh's bondmen in Egypt; and the LORD brought us out of Egypt with a mighty hand: and the LORD ²² shewed signs and wonders, great and sore, upon Egypt, upon Pharaoh, and upon all his house, before our eyes: and he brought us out from thence, that he might bring ²³ us in, to give us the land which he sware unto our fathers. And the LORD commanded us to do all these statutes, to ²⁴ fear the LORD our God, for our good always, that he might preserve us alive, as at this day. And it shall be ²⁵ righteousness unto us, if we observe to do all this commandment before the LORD our God, as he hath commanded us.

When the LORD thy God shall bring thee into the land ⁷ whither thou goest to possess it, and shall ^a cast out many nations before thee, the Hittite, and the Girgashite, and

^a Heb. *pluck off*.

20. Cf. Exod. xiii. 14, where a similar explanation of the separation of the firstborn is asked and given.

23. **us** (first): emphatic in the Hebrew, in contrast with Egypt and Pharaoh.

24. **for our good always**: the point of the answer; the revelation of the law makes possible that obedience to Yahweh's will which is our (sufficient) 'righteousness,' and keeps us within the sphere of His continuing purpose to save.

vii. 1-11. Victorious Israel is to exterminate the conquered peoples of Canaan, to make no public or private alliances with any of them, and to destroy the material accompaniments of their religion, lest it become a snare (verses 1-5). Israel belongs to Yahweh, solely through the initiative of His love; because of this, and of His fidelity to past promises, has Yahweh delivered Israel from Egypt (verses 6-8). Let Israel obey a God who so fully repays both love and hate towards Himself (verses 9-11).

1. This list of nations, frequently repeated in whole or part, gives no precise geographical information; it is 'designed for the purpose of presenting an impressive picture of the number and

the Amorite, and the Canaanite, and the Perizzite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite, seven nations greater and mightier than thou; and when the LORD thy God shall deliver them up before thee, and thou shalt smite them; then thou shalt ^autterly destroy them; thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor shew mercy unto them; neither shalt thou make marriages with them; thy daughter thou shalt not give unto his son, nor his daughter shalt thou take unto thy son. For he will turn away thy son from following me, that they may serve other gods: so will the anger of the LORD be kindled against you, and he will destroy thee quickly. But thus shall ye deal with them; ye shall break down their altars, and dash in pieces their ^bpillars, and hew down their

^a Heb. *devote*.

^b Or, *obelisks*

variety of the nations dispossessed by the Israelites' (Driver, p. 97). The **Amorites** and the **Canaanites** are the two of most importance, 'each sufficiently numerous and prominent to supply a designation of the entire country; the former, it may perhaps be inferred, resident chiefly in the high central ground of Palestine, the latter chiefly in the lower districts on the west and east' (*op. cit.*, p. 12). For the **Hittites**, see on Joshua i. 4. The other names are of more local significance: the **Hivites** are connected with Gibeon (Joshua ix. 7, xi. 19), and with Shechem (Gen. xxxiv. 2); the **Jebusites** with Jerusalem (Joshua xviii. 28); the **Perizzites** with the Rephaim (Joshua xvii. 15) and the Canaanite (Gen. xiii. 7); the **Girgashites** are of unknown locality.

2. **utterly destroy**: see note on xx. 17 for the *herem* or ban. A covenant with the natives of Canaan is forbidden in JE, Exod. xxiii. 32, xxxiv. 12: see on iv. 13.

3. Cf. Joshua xxiii. 12 for the peril of the marriage alliance with non-Israelites. The policy of Ezra (Ezra ix and x), at a critical time, shows how real this peril was (cf. Neh. xiii. 23 f.). 'The permanence of Judaism depended on the religious separateness of the Jews' (Ryle, *Cam. Bible*, 'Ezra,' p. 143).

4. **me**: i. e. Yahweh, though Moses is the nominal speaker; so elsewhere (xi. 14, &c.).

5. As in Exod. xxxiv. 13: see on xvi. 21, 22, and cf. xii. 3. The **graven images** (see on iv. 16) are here of wood, since they can be burnt.

^a Asherim, and burn their graven images with fire. For 6 thou art an holy people unto the LORD thy God: the LORD thy God hath chosen thee to be a peculiar people unto himself, ^b above all peoples that are upon the face of the earth. The LORD did not set his love upon you, nor 7 choose you, because ye were more in number than any people; for ye were the fewest of all peoples: but because 8 the LORD loveth you, and because he would keep the oath which he sware unto your fathers, hath the LORD brought you out with a mighty hand, and redeemed you out of the house of bondage, from the hand of Pharaoh king of Egypt. Know therefore that the LORD thy God, 9 he is God; the faithful God, which keepeth covenant and mercy with them that love him and keep his commandments to a thousand generations; and repayeth them 10 that hate him to their face, to destroy them: he will not be slack to him that hateth him, he will repay him to his face. Thou shalt therefore keep the commandment, 11

^a See Ex. xxxiv. 13. ^b Or, *out of*

6. See Exod. xix. 5-6, from which this verse is derived. Israel is here called **holy**, not from any moral quality, but as separated, and appropriated to Yahweh, who has **chosen** this nation as His **peculiar people**, xiv. 2 (Heb. 'a people of possession')—i. e. His personal and private property. Cf. iv. 20 ('a people of inheritance'). R. V. marg. 'out of' is preferable (cf. R. V. text of Exod. xix. 5).

8. **redeemed**: or 'ransomed.' The term may be used literally of the payment of an actual ransom (Exod. xiii. 13), or figuratively of the result, without regard to the means, as here: cf. Hos. xiii. 14. Cf. iv. 20, where the act of deliverance is connected with the choice of Israel, and Hos. xi. 1.

9. **he is God**, &c.: Heb. 'He is the (true) God (iv. 35), the faithful God, keeping the covenant and the loving-kindness.' Cf. v. 9, 10.

10. **to their face**, i. e. personally: contrast v. 9, where 'the ancestor with four generations forms a solidarity' (Cook, *Laws*, p. 261).

will not be slack: Heb. 'will not delay' (the requital).

and the statutes, and the judgements, which I command thee this day, to do them.

- 12 And it shall come to pass, because ye hearken to these judgements, and keep, and do them, that the LORD thy God shall keep with thee the covenant and the mercy
13 which he sware unto thy fathers: and he will love thee, and bless thee, and multiply thee: he will also bless the fruit of thy body and the fruit of thy ground, thy corn and thy wine and thine oil, the increase of thy kine and the young of thy flock, in the land which he sware unto
14 thy fathers to give thee. Thou shalt be blessed above all peoples: there shall not be male or female barren
15 among you, or among your cattle. And the LORD will take away from thee all sickness; and he will put none of the evil diseases of Egypt, which thou knowest, upon thee, but will lay them upon all them that hate thee.
16 And thou shalt consume all the peoples which the LORD thy God shall deliver unto thee; thine eye shall not pity them: neither shalt thou serve their gods; for that will
17 be a snare unto thee. If thou shalt say in thine heart, These nations are more than I; how can I dispossess
18 them? thou shalt not be afraid of them: thou shalt well remember what the LORD thy God did unto Pharaoh,

viii. 12-26. The blessings of the obedient will prove Yahweh's fidelity to the covenant (verses 12-16). Let not Israel fear the nations of Canaan, for Yahweh will give victory as in Egypt (verses 17-24). To Him must their graven images be 'devoted' (verses 25, 26).

12 f. The thought of verse 9 is emphasized and illustrated.

13. The produce of Canaan is Yahweh's gift (not that of the local Baals): cf. xi. 14.

14. Cf. Exod. xxiii. 26 f., with which this whole passage is connected.

15. the evil diseases of Egypt (xxviii. 60; cf. Exod. xv. 26): which include elephantiasis, dysentery, and ophthalmia.

16. a snare unto thee: cf. verse 25; Exod. xxiii. 33, xxxiv. 12.

and unto all Egypt; the great ^a temptations which thine 19
 eyes saw, and the signs, and the wonders, and the mighty
 hand, and the stretched out arm, whereby the LORD thy
 God brought thee out: so shall the LORD thy God do
 unto all the peoples of whom thou art afraid. Moreover 20
 the LORD thy God will send the hornet among them,
 until they that are left, and ^b hide themselves, perish from
 before thee. Thou shalt not be affrighted at them: for 21
 the LORD thy God is in the midst of thee, a great God
 and a terrible. And the LORD thy God will cast out 22
 those nations before thee by little and little: thou
 mayest not consume them ^c at once, lest the beasts of the
 field increase upon thee. But the LORD thy God shall 23
 deliver them up before thee, and shall discomfit them
 with a great discomfiture, until they be destroyed. And 24
 he shall deliver their kings into thine hand, and thou
 shalt make their name to perish from under heaven:
 there shall no man be able to stand before thee, until
 thou have destroyed them. The graven images of their 25
 gods shall ye burn with fire: thou shalt not covet the
 silver or the gold that is on them, nor take it unto thee,
 lest thou be snared therein: for it is an abomination to

^a Or, *trials* See ch. iv. 34, and xxix. 3.

^b Or, *hide themselves from thee, perish* ^c Or, *quickly*

19. **temptations**: see on iv. 34.

20. **the hornet**: Exod. xxiii. 28; Joshua xxiv. 12. Actual
 hornets searching out hidden survivors are apparently meant, as
 is understood in Wisdom xii. 8 f. Commentators refer to the four
 known species of hornets in Palestine, and the possibly fatal
 character of an attack; but the reference is obscure. See on i. 44.

22. See Exod. xxiii. 29, where the same reason is given.

24. **their kings**: Joshua xii. 24.

25. **graven images** (iv. 16): here they are made of wood,
 overlaid with precious metals, the latter alone, when stripped off,
 forming a possible object of desire.

an abomination (of Yahweh): a phrase characteristic of
 this book (xii. 31, xvii. 1, &c.).

26 the LORD thy God : and thou shalt not bring an abomination into thine house, and become a devoted thing like unto it : thou shalt utterly detest it, and thou shalt utterly abhor it ; for it is a devoted thing.

8 All the commandment which I command thee this day shall ye observe to do, that ye may live, and multiply, and go in and possess the land which the LORD swore
2 unto your fathers. And thou shalt remember all the way which the LORD thy God hath led thee these forty years in the wilderness, that he might humble thee, to prove thee, to know what was in thine heart, whether thou
3 wouldest keep his commandments, or no. And he humbled thee, and suffered thee to hunger, and fed thee with manna, which thou knewest not, neither did thy fathers know ; that he might make thee know that man doth not live by bread only, but by every thing that proceedeth out of the mouth of the LORD doth man live.

26. The whole story of Achan (Joshua vii) is the best commentary on this verse ; **a devoted thing** : *herem* (on xx. 17).

viii. 1-20. The discipline of the desert wanderings was meant to teach Israel dependence on Yahweh (verses 1-5). Amid the plenty of Palestine (verses 6-10) let not Him be forgotten on whom Israel then depended so absolutely (verses 11-17). The plenty is from Yahweh ; if He be forgotten the nation will perish (verses 18-20).

2. Amos ii. 10.

to prove thee : cf. vi. 16, where the same word is translated 'tempt' by R. V. (cf. 2 Chron. xxxii. 31). The words are co-ordinate with 'to humble thee' ; i.e. the humiliation taught dependence (verse 3), the proof of hardship tested character (verse 2^b).

3. manna : Exod. xvi. 13 f. ; supplied to Israel, according to P, from the second month of the first year (Exod. xvi. 1) until Gilgal was reached (Joshua v. 12). It is usually identified with the exudations of tamarisk twigs, when punctured by an insect. Others think of a species of stone lichen, which can be eaten (*E.B.* 2929).

thing that proceedeth out of (one word in Heb. = 'utter-

Thy raiment waxed not old upon thee, neither did thy 4
 foot swell, these forty years. And thou shalt consider in 5
 thine heart, that, as a man chasteneth his son, so the
 LORD thy God chasteneth thee. And thou shalt keep 6
 the commandments of the LORD thy God, to walk in his
 ways, and to fear him. For the LORD thy God bringeth 7
 thee into a good land, a land of brooks of water, of
 fountains and depths, springing forth in valleys and hills ;
 a land of wheat and barley, and vines and fig trees and 8
 pomegranates ; a land of oil olives and honey ; a land 9
 wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness, thou
 shalt not lack any thing in it ; a land whose stones are

ance') ; not here in the spiritualized sense of Matt. iv. 4, where the antithesis is between material food and spiritual support, but in the sense of that which is created by the special command of God : i. e. the antithesis is that between food supplied naturally and supernaturally. Hence the emphasis on the unknown nature of this manna.

4. Cf. xxix. 5 ; not in the earlier narratives, which are here amplified by the writer. The Jewish commentator Rashi points out that the clothes must have grown with the children who wore them, 'like the shell of a snail' (ed. Berliner, p. 316).

5. **chasteneth** : or 'disciplines' (see on iv. 36) ; as in the humbling experiences of the desert. The O. T. doctrine of the Divine Fatherhood is well brought out by Montefiore, *Hibbert Lectures* VIII. ('God and Israel.') The God of Judaism is 'no hard and merciless taskmaster, but a loving and compassionate Father... ; the double limitation must not be forgotten. God's pitying Fatherhood extends only to those "who fear Him." Outside that barrier are the heathen nations and the wicked within Israel' (p. 463).

6. The verse, resuming verse 1, is transitional, emphasizing the lesson of the desert (verses 1-5), and warning against the peril of Canaan (verse 7 f.).

7. 'An attractive and faithful description of the Palestinian landscape' (Driver). The **depths** are those of the subterranean waters (iv. 18) which feed the fountains.

8. Cf. Num. xiii. 23 ; Joel i. 12 ; Hag. ii. 19, &c. The cultivated oil olive is distinguished from the (wild) olive, giving little oil.

9. **whose stones are iron** : probably the black basalt (iii. 11) is meant, which consists of one-fifth part of iron, and is still called iron-stone by the Arabs.

10 iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass. And thou shalt eat and be full, and thou shalt bless the LORD thy God for the good land which he hath given thee.

11 Beware lest thou forget the LORD thy God, in not keeping his commandments, and his judgements, and his

12 statutes, which I command thee this day: lest when thou hast eaten and art full, and hast built goodly houses, and

13 dwelt therein; and when thy herds and thy flocks multiply, and thy silver and thy gold is multiplied, and all

14 that thou hast is multiplied; then thine heart be lifted up, and thou forget the LORD thy God, which brought thee forth out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of

15 bondage; who led thee through the great and terrible wilderness, *wherein were* fiery serpents and scorpions, and thirsty ground where was no water; who brought thee

16 forth water out of the rock of flint; who fed thee in the wilderness with manna, which thy fathers knew not; that he might humble thee, and that he might prove

17 thee, to do thee good at thy latter end: and thou say in thine heart, My power and the might of mine hand hath

18 gotten me this wealth. But thou shalt remember the LORD thy God, for it is he that giveth thee power to get wealth; that he may establish his covenant which he

brass: i.e. copper, which was formerly obtained from Lebanon and Edom. For a vivid description of ancient mining operations, see Job xxviii. 1-11.

15. fiery serpents: Num. xxi. 6: cf. Isa. xxx. 6. There are various kinds of serpents in the districts traversed by Israel; these are perhaps designated 'fiery' or 'burning' because of the inflammation of their bite (cf. Gray, *Numbers*, p. 277). The reference to **scorpions** is added by D; they are common in the same districts, and the Pass of Akrabbim (Joshua xv. 3) receives its name from them.

water out of the rock of flint: Exod. xvii. 6.

17. in thine heart: Bertholet well compares Luke xii. 19 ('I will say to my soul'). Deuteronomy insists on the inwardness of religious issues (vi. 5).

sware unto thy fathers, as at this day. And it shall be, 19 if thou shalt forget the LORD thy God, and walk after other gods, and serve them, and worship them, I testify against you this day that ye shall surely perish. As the 20 nations which the LORD maketh to perish before you, so shall ye perish; because ye would not hearken unto the voice of the LORD your God.

Hear, O Israel: thou art to pass over Jordan this day, 9 to go in to possess nations greater and mightier than thyself, cities great and fenced up to heaven, a people 2 great and tall, the sons of the Anakim, whom thou knowest, and of whom thou hast heard say, Who can stand before the sons of Anak? Know therefore this day, 3 that the LORD thy God is he which goeth over before thee as a devouring fire; he shall destroy them, and he shall bring them down before thee: so shalt thou drive them out, and make them to perish quickly, as the LORD hath spoken unto thee. Speak not thou in thine heart, 4 after that the LORD thy God hath thrust them out from before thee, saying, For my righteousness the LORD hath brought me in to possess this land: whereas for the wickedness of these nations the LORD doth drive them out from

19. other gods: i. e. the local Baals of the nations of Canaan (verse 20).

ix. 1-7. The victory over mightier nations will be due to Yahweh (verses 1-3). Let not Israel claim it as the reward of righteousness, since it is due, on the one hand, to the wickedness of those dispossessed, on the other, to Yahweh's fidelity to ancient promises, (verses 4, 5). Israel has been disobedient from Egypt to the present place (verses 6, 7).

1, 2. Cf. i. 28, where see note on **Anakim**.

thou: emphatic in the Hebrew in both cases. The knowledge came from the report of the spies (Num. xiii. 28).

3. he: emphatic in each instance; the victory is Yahweh's, not Israel's.

hath spoken: in Exod. xxiii. 27, 31.

5 before thee. Not for thy righteousness, or for the uprightness of thine heart, dost thou go in to possess their land: but for the wickedness of these nations the LORD thy God doth drive them out from before thee, and that he may establish the word which the LORD swore unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to 6 Jacob. Know therefore, that the LORD thy God giveth thee not this good land to possess it for thy righteous- 7 ness; for thou art a stiffnecked people. Remember, forget thou not, how thou provokedst the LORD thy God to wrath in the wilderness: from the day that thou wentest forth out of the land of Egypt, until ye came unto this place, ye have been rebellious against the 8 LORD. [D²] Also in Horeb ye provoked the LORD to

6. a stiffnecked people: Heb. 'a people hard of neck'; Exod. xxxii. 9, xxxiii. 3, 5, xxxiv. 9. 'The figure underlying the expression is of course the unyielding neck of an obstinate, intractable animal (cf. Isa. xlviii. 4 'and a sinew of iron is thy neck')' (Driver).

ix. 8—x. 11. Israel's disobedience illustrated from the events at Horeb (verse 8). Moses received the tables of stone after being forty days on Horeb (verses 9-11). Yahweh, made angry by the molten calf, declared to Moses his intention to destroy Israel (verses 12-14). Moses, confronted on his descent with Israel's sin, broke the tables of stone (verses 15-17) and made intercession through forty days for Israel and Aaron (verses 18-20). The calf he destroyed (verse 21). After reference to similar disobedience at other places, especially Kadesh-barnea (verses 22-4), Moses resumes the story of his intercession at Horeb, and recalls his prayer, urging Yahweh to remember the tie between Israel and Himself (verses 25-9). In reply, Yahweh recalled him to the mount, and gave him another copy of the Decalogue, which he placed, on his return, in the ark he had made (x. 1-5). His stay on the mount the second time was as long as the first (verse 10), and Yahweh renewed his promise to Israel (verse 11).

This narrative is obviously interrupted by x. 6f., which gives part of an itinerary of Israel, and possibly also by x. 8, 9, a note on the separation of the Levites. To a less marked degree, it is interrupted by ix. 22-4, and shows other signs of confusion (c. g.

wrath, and the LORD was angry with you to have destroyed you. When I was gone up into the mount to 9 receive the tables of stone, even the tables of the covenant which the LORD made with you, then I abode in the mount forty days and forty nights; I did neither eat bread nor drink water. And the LORD delivered unto 10 me the two tables of stone written with the finger of God; and on them *was written* according to all the words, which the LORD spake with you in the mount out of the midst of the fire in the day of the assembly. And it 11 came to pass at the end of forty days and forty nights, that the LORD gave me the two tables of stone, even the tables of the covenant. And the LORD said unto me, 12 Arise, get thee down quickly from hence; for thy people which thou hast brought forth out of Egypt have corrupted themselves; they are quickly turned aside out of the way

verses 11 and 13). Even apart from such indications of a want of unity, it is difficult to conceive that the original writer of the Introduction to the Deuteronomic Code would have dealt here with a single illustration at such disproportionate length. The narrative of Horeb appears to be more closely related to the historical review (chaps. i-iii) than to any other part of Deuteronomy, and, like it, is based on JE (see the table in Driver, p. 112). There are also linguistic points of contact. It is significant that that review is without reference to the events of Horeb. This has led to the not improbable conjecture that ix. 9 f. originally stood before i. 6 as part of the historical introduction (D²), which would then begin, like the hortatory introduction (v f.), with the delivery of the Ten Commandments.

8. Summary of the whole narrative, linking it to verse 7 : cf. Exod. xxiv. 12 f., xxxi. 18 f., xxxiv, on which this narrative is based, to a large extent verbally.

9. Exod. xxiv. 18, xxxiv. 28 (the latter referring, however, to a subsequent occasion).

10. Exod. xxxi. 18 : cf. Deut. v. 4.

11. A doublet to verse 10^a, according to which the tables of stone have already been given.

12. Exod. xxxii. 7 : **have corrupted themselves**, rather 'have done corruptly.'

which I commanded them; they have made them a
 13 molten image. Furthermore the LORD spake unto me,
 saying, I have seen this people, and, behold, it is a stiff-
 14 necked people: let me alone, that I may destroy them,
 and blot out their name from under heaven; and I will
 make of thee a nation mightier and greater than they.
 15 So I turned and came down from the mount, and the
 mount burned with fire: and the two tables of the
 16 covenant were in my two hands. And I looked, and,
 behold, ye had sinned against the LORD your God; ye
 had made you a molten calf: ye had turned aside quickly
 out of the way which the LORD had commanded you.
 17 And I took hold of the two tables, and cast them out of
 18 my two hands, and brake them before your eyes. And
 I fell down before the LORD, as at the first, forty days
 and forty nights; I did neither eat bread nor drink
 water; because of all your sin which ye sinned, in doing
 that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, to provoke
 19 him to anger. For I was afraid of the anger and hot
 displeasure, wherewith the LORD was wroth against you
 to destroy you. But the LORD hearkened unto me that
 20 time also. And the LORD was very angry with Aaron to

13. Exod. xxxii. 9. **Furthermore** is supplied by R.V.; Heb. 'and.'

14 f. Exod. xxxii. 10, 15, 19 are largely reproduced.

18. **as at the first**: i. e. the intercession lasted for the same time as the sojourn on the mount, ix. 9, and is identical with that of x. 10. According to Exod. xxxii. 30 f., Moses returned on the morrow after his discovery of the sin to make intercession; according to Exod. xxxiv. 9, he again made intercession, within the second period of forty days spent on the mount (xxxiv. 28). The latter may be in view here; but it ought to follow, not precede verse 21.

to provoke him to anger: delete 'to anger,' as in iv. 25.

19. **that time also**: what other occasion is meant is not clear; possibly the present narrative has been condensed, and originally contained a reference to the earlier intercession of Exod. xxxii. 31.

have destroyed him: and I prayed for Aaron also the same time. And I took your sin, the calf which ye had 21 made, and burnt it with fire, and stamped it, grinding it very small, until it was as fine as dust: and I cast the dust thereof into the brook that descended out of the mount. And at Taberah, and at Massah, and at Kibroth- 22 hattaavah, ye provoked the LORD to wrath. And when 23 the LORD sent you from Kadesh-barnea, saying, Go up and possess the land which I have given you; then ye rebelled against the commandment of the LORD your God, and ye believed him not, nor hearkened to his voice. Ye have been rebellious against the LORD from 24 the day that I knew you. So I fell down before the 25 LORD the forty days and forty nights that I fell down; because the LORD had said he would destroy you. And 26 I prayed unto the LORD, and said, O Lord GOD, destroy not thy people and thine inheritance, which thou hast redeemed through thy greatness, which thou hast brought forth out of Egypt with a mighty hand. Remember thy 27 servants, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; look not unto the stubbornness of this people, nor to their wickedness, nor

20. The prayer for Aaron is not mentioned in Exodus.

21. Exod. xxxii. 20; **your sin**: for this concrete usage, cf. Amos viii. 14, Mic. i. 5.

as fine as dust: rather 'crushed fine to dust,' which was scattered in the Wādy; according to Exodus, that the Israelites might drink of it.

22, 23. Four other examples of Israel's disobedience are cited; **Taberah** (Num. xi. 1-3), **Massah** (Exod. xvii. 2-7), **Kibroth-hattaavah** (Num. xi. 4-34), and **Kadesh-barnea** (i. 19 f.).

25 resumes the account of the intercession of verse 18, and replies to Yahweh's words in verse 14 ('destroy them'). It should be noted that whilst this is the second intercession (Exod. xxxiv. 9), according to the present narrative, its contents are largely those of the first (Exod. xxxii. 11-13).

28. Cf. Exod. xxxii. 12; Num. xiv. 16, both of which have contributed to this verse.

- 28 to their sin: lest the land whence thou broughtest us out say, Because the LORD was not able to bring them into the land which he promised unto them, and because he hated them, he hath brought them out to slay them in
 29 the wilderness. Yet they are thy people and thine inheritance, which thou broughtest out by thy great power and by thy stretched out arm.
- 10 At that time the LORD said unto me, Hew thee two tables of stone like unto the first, and come up unto me
 2 into the mount, and make thee an ark of wood. And I will write on the tables the words that were on the first tables which thou brakest, and thou shalt put them in
 3 the ark. So I made an ark of acacia wood, and hewed two tables of stone like unto the first, and went up into
 4 the mount, having the two tables in mine hand. And he wrote on the tables, according to the first writing, the ten
 a commandments, which the LORD spake unto you in the mount out of the midst of the fire in the day of the
 5 assembly: and the LORD gave them unto me. And I turned and came down from the mount, and put the tables in the ark which I had made; and there they be,
 6 as the LORD commanded me. [E] (And the children of Israel journeyed from ^b Beeroth Bene-jaakan to Moserah: there Aaron died, and there he was buried; and Eleazar his son ministered in the priest's office in his stead.
 7 From thence they journeyed unto Gudgodah; and from

^a Heb. *words*.

^b Or, *the wells of the children of Jaakan*

x. 1-3. These verses are condensed from Exod. xxxiv. 1, 2, 4, and expanded by the references to the ark, not there named. According to Exod. xxxvii. 1 f. (xxv. 10 f.) this ark was made by Bezalel, after, not before, the reception of the second tables (P). The inconsistency may go back to some narrative of JE, not now extant.

6, 7. These verses are clearly an interruption to the Horeb

Gudgodah to Jotbathah, a land of brooks of water. [R^D] 8
 At that time the LORD separated the tribe of Levi, to
 bear the ark of the covenant of the LORD, to stand before
 the LORD to minister unto him, and to bless in his name,
 unto this day. Wherefore Levi hath no portion nor 9
 inheritance with his brethren; the LORD is his inheritance,
 according as the LORD thy God spake unto him.) [D²]
 And I stayed in the mount, as at the first time, forty days 10

narrative. They are connected with Num. xxxiii. 31-3 (P), where the four names of this itinerary fragment occur, with some variation, and in a different order. They cannot be derived from that passage, not only because of the differences, but especially because they place the death of Aaron at a point and place different from those of P (Num. xx. 22 f., on Mount Horeb). They are usually regarded as a fragment of E's itinerary (cf., e. g., Num. xxi. 12-15), both from their form and from the interest in Eleazar (Joshua xxiv. 33, E). The places named are unknown. 'The passage is important, as showing that in the tradition of JE, not less than in P, Aaron was the founder of a hereditary priesthood' (Driver, p. 121).

8, 9. The consecration of Levi to priestly duties, with priests' dues. It is included in the brackets of the R. V. as a continuation of the interruption made by verses 6, 7. It seems, however, to be an independent note connected with the mention of the ark in verse 5.

8. At that time: either of the stay at Horeb (verse 5) or at Jotbathah (verse 7), according to the view taken of the connexion.

the tribe of Levi: to whom are here given the three priestly duties—(a) to bear the ark, in Num. iv. 1 f. (P) the duty of Levites (Kohathites) in the narrower sense, as distinct from the priests, but in Deuteronomic writers the duty of the Levitical priests (Deut. xxxi. 9; Joshua viii. 33: cf. Joshua iii. 3, vi. 6, 12); (b) to minister to Yahweh (in offering sacrifice), a duty reserved by P for the (Aaronic) priests alone as distinct from the Levites (Num. iii. 10); (c) to bless in His name, according to P (Num. vi. 23) the privilege of (Aaronic) priests only. See on xviii. 1.

9. Yahweh is his inheritance: i. e. Levi is supported from the sacred offerings to Yahweh, xviii. 1, 2.

10, 11. These verses resume and conclude the Horeb narrative, though their present place can hardly be original.

I stayed: the Heb. would allow the translation 'I had stayed,' which is required if we relate the verse to ix. 18, 19. The

and forty nights : and the LORD hearkened unto me that
 11 time also ; the LORD would not destroy thee. And the
 LORD said unto me, Arise, take thy journey before the
 people ; and they shall go in and possess the land, which
 I swear unto their fathers to give unto them.

12 [D] And now, Israel, what doth the LORD thy God
 require of thee, but to fear the LORD thy God, to walk in
 all his ways, and to love him, and to serve the LORD thy
 13 God with all thy heart and with all thy soul, to keep the
 commandments of the LORD, and his statutes, which
 14 I command thee this day for thy good ? Behold, unto the
 LORD thy God belongeth the heaven, and the heaven of
 15 heavens, the earth, with all that therein is. Only the
 LORD had a delight in thy fathers to love them, and he
 chose their seed after them, even you ^a above all peoples,
 16 as at this day. Circumcise therefore the foreskin of your
 17 heart, and be no more stiffnecked. For the LORD your
 God, he is God of gods, and Lord of lords, the great
 God, the mighty, and the terrible, which regardeth not
 18 persons, nor taketh reward. He doth execute the
 judgement of the fatherless and widow, and loveth the
 19 stranger, in giving him food and raiment. Love ye

^a Or, out of

intercession to which Yahweh **hearkened** will then be that of ix.
 25-9, whose success is now explicitly stated.

x. 12-22. Exhortation to respond to the great God who has
 done such great things for Israel.

12. **require** : 'What is Yahweh thy God asking from thee ?'
 Cf. Mic. vi. 8, which this verse recalls.

16. **Circumcise** : xxx. 6 ; Jer. iv. 4 ; the figure is also used of
 the ear (Jer. vi. 10) and of the lips (Exod. vi. 12) ; it is hardly drawn
 from the physical operation (the unreceptive heart being 'closed
 in,' Driver), but denotes a spiritual and true membership of Israel
 in contrast with one based on the outward sign.

17. **reward** : 'a bribe.'

18, 19. Three classes liable to oppression are put under His

therefore the stranger : for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt. Thou shalt fear the LORD thy God ; him shalt ²⁰ thou serve ; and to him shalt thou cleave, and by his name shalt thou swear. He is thy praise, and he is thy ²¹ God, that hath done for thee these great and terrible things, which thine eyes have seen. Thy fathers went ²² down into Egypt with threescore and ten persons ; and now the LORD thy God hath made thee as the stars of heaven for multitude.

Therefore thou shalt love the LORD thy God, and keep ¹¹ his charge, and his statutes, and his judgements, and his commandments, alway. And know ye this day : for *I speak* ² not with your children which have not known, and which have not seen the ^a chastisement of the LORD your God, his greatness, his mighty hand, and his stretched out arm, and his signs, and his works, which he did in the ³ midst of Egypt unto Pharaoh the king of Egypt, and unto all his land ; and what he did unto the army of Egypt, ⁴ unto their horses, and to their chariots ; how he made the

^a Or, *instruction*

protection ; Israel's duty to the stranger is enforced like the duty to servants (v. 15), by an appeal to experience.

the stranger : see on i. 16 ; for the motive, cf. Exod. xxii. 21, xxiii. 9.

21. thy praise : (Jer. xvii. 14) i. e. to be praised by thee for His deeds.

for thee : Heb. 'with thee' ; with reference to Egypt (xi. 3).

22. Gen. xlv. 27 ; Exod. i. 5 ; Deut. i. 10 ; a special instance of the Divine providence.

xi. 1-9. Let the personal experience of Yahweh's great deeds prompt Israel to obedience.

2. I speak : necessarily supplied by R.V., because the Hebrew has no verb to govern the long sentence following (verses 2-6).

chastisement : 'discipline' comes nearer the meaning of the Heb. word than either R.V. or R. V. marg. (iv. 36, viii. 5). Cf. the similar, though less detailed, review in iv. 34 f. (vi. 22, vii. 18). The generation addressed is that which was delivered from Egypt.

water of the Red Sea to overflow them as they pursued after you; and how the LORD hath destroyed them
 5 unto this day; and what he did unto you in the wilderness,
 6 until ye came unto this place; and what he did unto Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab, the son of Reuben; how the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up, and their households, and their tents, and every living thing that followed them, in the midst of all
 7 Israel: but your eyes have seen all the great work of the
 8 LORD which he did. Therefore shall ye keep all the commandment which I command thee this day, that ye may be strong, and go in and possess the land, whither
 9 ye go over to possess it; and that ye may prolong your days upon the land, which the LORD sware unto your fathers to give unto them and to their seed, a land flowing
 10 with milk and honey. For the land, whither thou goest in to possess it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst
 11 it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs: but the land, whither

5. See Num. xvi. The omission of Korah is due to the fact that the writer is using JE, which did not mention him. The (later) account of P, which does, has been interwoven with JE to form the narrative of Num. xvi.

xi. 10-17. Canaan contrasted with Egypt to show its greater dependence on Yahweh for fertility. (The paragraph division of R. V. between verses 12 and 13 obscures the sense.)

10. not as the land of Egypt: viz. in respect of irrigation, owing to the broken surface of the country (verse 11), which does not favour artificial irrigation on a large scale.

wateredst it with thy foot: i. e. possibly with a wheel worked by the foot. The present water-wheels of Egypt are turned usually by an ox. W. Max Müller points out, however (*E.B.*, 'Egypt,' 1226 n.¹), that the use of the water-wheel cannot be proved for ancient Egypt; 'most probably "watering with the foot" means carrying water.'

as a garden of herbs: (1 Kings xxi. 2) i. e. a small plot of ground for which artificial irrigation could be employed in Palestine.

ye go over to possess it, is a land of hills and valleys, *and* drinketh water of the rain of heaven : a land which the ¹² LORD thy God ^a careth for ; the eyes of the LORD thy God are always upon it, from the beginning of the year even unto the end of the year.

And it shall come to pass, if ye shall hearken diligently ¹³ unto my commandments which I command you this day, to love the LORD your God, and to serve him with all your heart and with all your soul, that I will give the ¹⁴ rain of your land in its season, the former rain and the latter rain, that thou mayest gather in thy corn, and thy wine, and thine oil. And I will give grass in thy fields for ¹⁵ thy cattle, and thou shalt eat and be full. Take heed to ¹⁶ yourselves, lest your heart be deceived, and ye turn aside, and serve other gods, and worship them ; and the anger ¹⁷ of the LORD be kindled against you, and he shut up the

^a Heb. *seeketh after*.

11. drinketh water of the rain of heaven : i. e. is dependent on the rains of verse 14 for its moisture, in contrast with Egypt, where rain is infrequent and agriculture depends on the inundation of the Nile, and on connected systems of irrigation. The superiority of Canaan, as well as its greater dependence on Yahweh, is naturally implied.

12. careth for. 'The climate of Egypt is not one which of itself suggests a personal Providence, but the climate of Palestine does so' (*H.G.H.L.*, p. 74). The present passage is a suggestive example of the way in which 'second causes' can tyrannize over human imagination. The water of the Nile is a natural gift ; the rain of Palestine a supernatural.

14. the rain of your land : i. e. not irregular showers, but the rainy period of the winter, begun by the heavy rainfall of October (the 'former rain'), which prepares for the agricultural year, and closed by that of March and April (the 'latter rain'), before the summer drought begins. This division of seasons is 'the ruling feature of the climate of Syria' (*H.G.H.L.*, p. 63 f.), and on its regular occurrence depend the fertility and prosperity of the land (verse 17).

17. The picture is not overdrawn. 'The early rains or the latter rains fail, drought comes occasionally for two years in

heaven, that there be no rain, and that the land yield not her fruit; and ye perish quickly from off the good land which the LORD giveth you. Therefore shall ye lay up these my words in your heart and in your soul; and ye shall bind them for a sign upon your hand, and they shall be for frontlets between your eyes. And ye shall teach them your children, talking of them, when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt write them upon the door posts of thine house, and upon thy gates: that your days may be multiplied, and the days of your children, upon the land which the LORD sware unto your fathers to give them, as the days of the heavens above the earth. For if ye shall diligently keep all this commandment which I command you, to do it; to love the LORD your God, to walk in all his ways, and to cleave unto him; then will the LORD drive out all these nations from before you, and ye shall possess nations greater and mightier than yourselves. Every place whereon the sole of your foot shall tread shall be yours: from the wilderness, and Lebanon, from the river, the river Euphrates, even unto the ^a hinder sea shall be your border.

^a That is, *western*.

succession, and that means famine and pestilence' (*op. cit.*, p. 73). For a fine description of cause and effect in agricultural prosperity, see Hosea ii. 21, 22.

xi. 18-25. The words of Yahweh, cherished, taught, and obeyed, will bring victorious possession of the Promised Land.

18-20. See on vi. 6-9, from which these verses are repeated with very slight change.

21. **as the days of the heavens above the earth**: i. e. so long as the (visible) universe endures: cf. the appeal to its permanence in iv. 26.

24. Cf. Joshua i. 3. The **wilderness** meant is that south of Palestine, answering here, as a boundary, to Lebanon in the north, whilst Israel's ideal territory is to extend from the Euphrates in the east to the Mediterranean in the west.

There shall no man be able to stand before you : the ²⁵
 LORD your God shall lay the fear of you and the dread
 of you upon all the land that ye shall tread upon, as he
 hath spoken unto you.

Behold, I set before you this day a blessing and a ²⁶
 curse ; the blessing, if ye shall hearken unto the com- ²⁷
 mandments of the LORD your God, which I command
 you this day : and the curse, if ye shall not hearken unto ²⁸
 the commandments of the LORD your God, but turn
 aside out of the way which I command you this day, to
 go after other gods, which ye have not known.

[R^D] And it shall come to pass, when the LORD thy ²⁹
 God shall bring thee into the land whither thou goest to
 possess it, that thou shalt set the blessing upon mount
 Gerizim, and the curse upon mount Ebal. Are they not ³⁰
 beyond Jordan, behind the way of the going down of the

25. as he hath spoken : Exod. xxiii. 27.

xi. 26-32. The alternatives of obedience and disobedience are those of a blessing and a curse (verses 26-8). These shall be solemnly recognized at the centre of Israel's future land (verses 29-32). (The blessing and the curse are expanded in chap. xxviii.)

28. which ye have not known : the Baals of Canaan have no share in the intimate relation hitherto existing between Yahweh and Israel.

29. set the blessing upon : give it ceremonial sanction there, as is described in xxvii. 11 f., with which passage verses 29, 30 are to be connected (hence assigned to R^D).

Gerizim . . . Ebal : probably chosen because the ancient sanctuary of Shechem (Joshua xxiv. 32) lay in the valley between them. The simplest explanation of the assignment of the blessing and curse respectively is that Ebal lay to the north, i. e. on the Hebrew 'left,' and Gerizim to the south, the Hebrew 'right.' That the latter was, as amongst other peoples, regarded as auspicious, in contrast with the ill-omened left, is shown by the Hebrew name 'Benjamin,' or 'son of the right hand' (Gen. xxxv. 18, R. V. marg.).

30. the way of the going down of the sun : i. e. the chief

sun, in the land of the Canaanites which dwell in the Arabah, over against Gilgal, beside the ^a oaks of Moreh?

31 [D] For ye are to pass over Jordan to go in to possess the land which the LORD your God giveth you, and ye
32 shall possess it, and dwell therein. And ye shall observe to do all the statutes and the judgements which I set before you this day.

12 These are the statutes and the judgements, which ye shall observe to do in the land which the LORD, the God of thy fathers, hath given thee to possess it, all the

^a Or, *terebinths*

western road, running from south to north, and passing east of Shechem, which is therefore 'behind' it (cf. verse 24).

which dwell in the Arabah: the reference is obscure, since the 'Arabah' (i. 1, R. V. marg.) is remote from Shechem.

over against Gilgal: hardly the Gilgal near Jericho; possibly the 'circle' (of stones) in connexion with Shechem.

the oaks of Moreh: or 'the terebinth (sing. in LXX) of the teacher' (giver of oracles) (see Joshua xxiv. 26 for the sacred stone and sacred tree at Shechem).

xii-xxv. At this point we pass to the Code of Laws, which falls into three main sections:

- I. The Law of the Central Sanctuary, with its related ordinances, xii. 1—xvi. 17 (with xvi. 21—xvii. 7).
- II. Laws relating to persons in authority (judges, king, priests, prophets), xvii. 8—xviii. 22 (with xvi. 18-20).
- III. Miscellaneous Laws, xix-xxv (not admitting, in their present order, of further classification¹).

xii. 1-28. *The Fundamental Law of the Single Sanctuary.* For the central place and primary importance of this section, see Introd. p. 10 (The Reformation of Josiah), p. 36 f.

Title (verse 1). Destruction of the Canaanite places of worship (verses 2, 3). Yahweh is to be worshipped at one place only (verses 4-7). The present individual liberty is to be abandoned (verses 8-10) that all offerings in Canaan may be made at the one place (verses 11, 12). Repetition, in varied form, of the law of a single sanctuary (verses 13, 14). Animals for food may be

¹ Driver (p. 135) takes xix and xxi. 1-9 to form a section, 'Criminal Law.'

days that ye live upon the earth. Ye shall surely destroy ² all the places, wherein the nations which ye shall possess served their gods, upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, and under every green tree: and ye shall ³ break down their altars, and dash in pieces their ^a pillars, and burn their Asherim with fire; and ye shall hew

...^a Or, *obelisks*

killed and their flesh eaten anywhere, though not the blood (verses 15, 16). But the substance of tithe, vow, or offering is to be eaten at the one place only (verses 17-19). Repetition, in a varied form, of the permission to kill for food locally, though the blood must be poured away (verses 20-5); whilst all sacred rites must be performed at the one central sanctuary (verses 26-8).

There can be little doubt that this section contains more than one version of the same law.

2. all the places: i. e. the sacred places, or sanctuaries, like 'the place of Shechem' (Gen. xii. 6) or of Bethel (xiii. 3), called 'the place of the altar' (verse 4) or the 'place' where Abraham proposed to sacrifice Isaac (xxii. 3). The corresponding Arabic word for 'place' is used similarly of a sanctuary. The much more usual word employed to designate these local sanctuaries is that rendered 'high place' (*bāmāh*), such sanctuaries being originally **upon the high mountains and upon the hills**. For the relation of such a high place to a particular town or district, see, e.g., 1 Sam. ix. 10-25.

served their gods: most of these local sanctuaries were those of the Canaanites, adopted by Israel after the conquest of Canaan. How far Israel actually worshipped the local Baals at these sanctuaries is uncertain; what is clear is that the worship of Yahweh was practised at them down to the time of the Deuteronomic Reformation, and after its initial failure (Exod. xx. 24-6, 'in every place'; 1 Kings xix. 10, 'thine altars'; Amos and Hosea, *passim*, where it is the contamination of the worship of Yahweh by (surviving) Canaanite associations that is attacked, not the localization of the worship away from the Temple).

under every green tree: or 'spreading' tree; for the sacred trees often growing at these 'places,' see Joshua xxiv. 26; 1 Sam. xxii. 6; Hos. iv. 13, &c.

3. pillars (*mazzēboth*): the artificial sacred stones. See on xvi. 22.

Asherim: the wooden posts, representing the sacred tree. See on xvi. 21.

down the graven images of their gods; and ye shall
 4 destroy their name out of that place. Ye shall not do
 5 so unto the LORD your God. But unto the place which
 the LORD your God shall choose out of all your tribes to
 put his name there, even unto his habitation shall ye
 6 seek, and thither thou shalt come: and thither ye shall
 bring your burnt offerings, and your sacrifices, and your
 tithes, and the heave offering of your hand, and your
 vows, and your freewill offerings, and the firstlings of

These, with the altar (see on verse 2), and in some cases the idol (Hos. viii. 6), the usual accompaniments of the 'high place,' are to be so completely destroyed that the very memory ('their name') of the local Baals is to cease (contrast verse 5, 'his name'). Bertholet illustrates by the later Jewish modification of proper names containing the element 'Baal'; e. g. Ish-baal became Ish-bosheth.

5. the place which Yahweh your God shall choose: i. e. Jerusalem, as often in this book (cf. 1 Kings viii. 44, 48, by a Deuteronomic writer). The earliest mention of Jerusalem is in the Tell el-Amarna Tablets, c. 1400 B.C., where it appears as the fortified capital of a small district. After the Israelite invasion it remained for a long time in the hands of the Canaanites, till captured by David (2 Sam. v. 6, 7). He brought up the ark of Yahweh to a tent, and on the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, which he bought (2 Sam. xxiv. 18 f.), Solomon's Temple was built. There is no evidence of the existence there of an earlier sanctuary.

6. burnt offerings: viz. as systematized in Lev. i, those of cattle, sheep and goats, birds, whose blood was dashed or drained out against the side of the altar, whilst the whole of the flesh was burnt upon it. Cf. Exod. x. 25, &c.

sacrifices: specially of the thank- or peace-offering (Exod. xx. 24), as the most frequent form of sacrifice. The flesh of cattle, sheep, or goats was eaten by the worshippers at a sacrificial meal of communion with the deity—except the fat offered on the altar and the priest's portion.

tithes: see on xiv. 22.

heave offering of your hand: personal contributions; not something elevated in presentation, but 'lifted off' a larger quantity, like first-fruits and other voluntary offerings.

vows . . . freewill offerings: belonging to special occasions.

firstlings: cf. xv. 19-22.

your herd and of your flock : and there ye shall eat 7
 before the LORD your God, and ye shall rejoice in all
 that ye put your hand unto, ye and your households,
 wherein the LORD thy God hath blessed thee. Ye shall 8
 not do after all the things that we do here this day,
 every man whatsoever is right in his own eyes : for ye 9
 are not as yet come to the rest and to the inheritance,
 which the LORD thy God giveth thee. But when ye go 10
 over Jordan, and dwell in the land which the LORD your
 God causeth you to inherit, and he giveth you rest from
 all your enemies round about, so that ye dwell in safety ;
 then it shall come to pass that the place which the LORD 11
 your God shall choose to cause his name to dwell there,
 thither shall ye bring all that I command you ; your
 burnt offerings, and your sacrifices, your tithes, and the
 heave offering of your hand, and all your choice vows
 which ye vow unto the LORD : and ye shall rejoice before 12
 the LORD your God, ye, and your sons, and your
 daughters, and your menservants, and your maidservants,
 and the Levite that is within your gates, forasmuch as he

7. The sacrificial meal (verse 6, 'sacrifices') of the family group : cf. verse 18, xiv. 23, xv. 20. For the important place of this act of communion in Semitic religion, see especially *Rel. Sem.*, Lect. vii. The emphasis of Deuteronomy on joy in worship agrees with the omission of any reference above to the sin-offering or guilt-offering of Lev. iv and v (Intro., p. 38 note).

8. Cf. Amos v. 25. It need hardly be pointed out that the writer knows nothing of the elaborate wilderness-ritual of P.

10. rest from all your enemies : not gained, as a matter of history, till the age of David and Solomon, which may be in view here (2 Sam. vii. 1 ; 1 Kings viii. 56).

11. The verse implies that the law of the single sanctuary was not meant to come into operation till the time was ripe for building the Temple (cf. 1 Kings iii. 2).

your choice vows : i. e. choice substance offered to fulfil a vow.

12. the Levite (cf. x. 9) : i. e. the original priest of the local

13 hath no portion nor inheritance with you. Take heed
 to thyself that thou offer not thy burnt offerings in every
 14 place that thou seest: but in the place which the LORD
 shall choose in one of thy tribes, there thou shalt offer thy
 burnt offerings, and there thou shalt do all that I command
 15 thee. Notwithstanding thou mayest kill and eat flesh
 within all thy gates, after all the desire of thy soul,
 according to the blessing of the LORD thy God which he
 hath given thee: the unclean and the clean may eat
 16 thereof, as of the gazelle, and as of the hart. Only ye
 shall not eat the blood; thou shalt pour it out upon the
 17 earth as water. Thou mayest not eat within thy gates

sanctuary, now deprived of his livelihood (xviii. 6-8), and frequently commended in this book to the care of Israel (verse 18, xiv. 27, 29, xvi. 11, 14, xxvi. 11).

within your gates: i. e. throughout your cities (a characteristic phrase of Deuteronomy).

15. thou mayest kill: the Hebrew verb means either to sacrifice or to kill, the fact being that all slaughter of domestic animals was originally sacrificial, their flesh being eaten on comparatively rare occasions at a sacrificial meal (see on verse 6). This sacrificial act could be performed at a sanctuary only so long as one was close at hand; the centralization of all sacrificial acts at Jerusalem involved the recognition of slaughter for food as non-sacrificial (cf. *Rel. Sem.*, p. 238). A fuller explanation is given by verse 20 f.

after all the desire of thy soul: the soul (*nephesh*), originally the breath, as the principle of life, tends to be specialized in later Hebrew psychology as the principle of emotion and sensation, especially hunger (as here). The higher cognitive and conative elements of conscious life were ascribed to the heart.

the unclean and the clean: i. e. in a ceremonial sense (1 Sam. xx. 26), since the act was no longer to be regarded as sacrificial, but such flesh was to be treated like game (**as of the gazelle, and as of the hart:** cf. xiv. 5), i. e. under a non-sacrificial classification.

16. blood: see *Introd.*, p. 24; the blood of the slain animal is still regarded as too mysterious and 'sacred' to be consumed; hence, for want of an altar at which to dispose of it with safety, it is poured on the ground (cf. *Rel. Sem.*, p. 234 f.).

17. The permission for the local consumption of flesh does not

the tithe of thy corn, or of thy wine, or of thine oil, or the firstlings of thy herd or of thy flock, nor any of thy vows which thou vowest, nor thy freewill offerings, nor the heave offering of thine hand: but thou shalt eat 18 them before the LORD thy God in the place which the LORD thy God shall choose, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy manservant, and thy maidservant, and the Levite that is within thy gates: and thou shalt rejoice before the LORD thy God in all that thou puttest thine hand unto. Take heed to thyself that thou forsake not 19 the Levite as long as thou livest upon thy land.

When the LORD thy God shall enlarge thy border, as 20 he hath promised thee, and thou shalt say, I will eat flesh, because thy soul desireth to eat flesh; thou mayest eat flesh, after all the desire of thy soul. If the place 21 which the LORD thy God shall choose to put his name there be too far from thee, then thou shalt kill of thy herd and of thy flock, which the LORD hath given thee, as I have commanded thee, and thou shalt eat within thy gates, after all the desire of thy soul. Even as the 22 gazelle and as the hart is eaten, so thou shalt eat thereof: the unclean and the clean shall eat thereof alike. Only 23 be sure that thou eat not the blood: for the blood is the

apply to tithes (xiv. 22 f.), firstlings (xv. 19 f.), or other sacred offerings.

20. enlarge thy border: cf. xix. 8; with reference to the acquisition, not of Canaan (verse 1), but of the ideal territory of i. 7, xi. 24 (Dillmann). For the actual extent of the Josianic kingdom, see *Introd.*, p. 37.

I will eat flesh: implying that this is no everyday occurrence (see on verse 15). Cf. Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i. p. 452.

23. sure: Heb. 'strong'; reference to 1 Sam. xiv. 32 will show how hunger might overcome a primitive superstition; but the use of blood in magical rites may also be in view.

the blood is the life: cf. Gen. ix. 4; Lev. xvii. 11, 14. See *Introd.*, p. 24.

life; and thou shalt not eat the life with the flesh.
 24 Thou shalt not eat it; thou shalt pour it out upon the
 25 earth as water. Thou shalt not eat it; that it may go
 well with thee, and with thy children after thee, when
 thou shalt do that which is right in the eyes of the LORD.
 26 Only thy holy things which thou hast, and thy vows,
 thou shalt take, and go unto the place which the LORD
 27 shall choose: and thou shalt offer thy burnt offerings,
 the flesh and the blood, upon the altar of the LORD thy
 God: and the blood of thy sacrifices shall be poured out
 upon the altar of the LORD thy God, and thou shalt eat
 28 the flesh. Observe and hear all these words which I
 command thee, that it may go well with thee, and with
 thy children after thee for ever, when thou doest that
 which is good and right in the eyes of the LORD thy God.
 29 When the LORD thy God shall cut off the nations
 from before thee, whither thou goest in to possess them,
 and thou possessest them, and dwellest in their land;
 30 take heed to thyself that thou be not ensnared ^a to follow

^a Heb. *after them*.

27. See on verse 6.

xii. 29—xiii. 18. *Laws against Solicitation to the Cults of Canaan.* General warning against the assimilation of the worship of Yahweh to that of the gods of Canaan (verses 29-31). If a prophet urges the claims of these gods, his teaching is to be rejected, though it is substantiated by foretold signs; and the man himself is to be put to death (xii. 32—xiii. 5). Even a relative or friend, secretly soliciting to their worship, is to be denounced and stoned to death (verses 6-11). The city that listens to such solicitations shall be devoted to Yahweh, its inhabitants being slaughtered, and its spoil burnt without exception (verses 12-18).

30. ensnared: partly, no doubt, by the ancient belief that the god of a district must be worshipped there, and in the local manner (1 Sam. xxvi. 19; 2 Kings xvii. 25-8); partly, also, by the fascination exercised over men in all ages by novel means of contact with the supernatural world.

them, after that they be destroyed from before thee ; and that thou inquire not after their gods, saying, How do these nations serve their gods ? ^a even so will I do likewise. Thou shalt not do so unto the LORD thy ³¹ God : for every abomination to the LORD, which he hateth, have they done unto their gods ; for even their sons and their daughters do they burn in the fire to their gods.

^b What thing soever I command you, that shall ye ³² observe to do : thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it.

If there arise in the midst of thee a prophet, or a ¹³ dreamer of dreams, and he give thee a sign or a wonder, and the sign or the wonder come to pass, whereof he ² spake unto thee, saying, Let us go after other gods, which thou hast not known, and let us serve them ; thou shalt ³ not hearken unto the words of that prophet, or unto that dreamer of dreams : for the LORD your God proveth you,

^a Or, *that I also may do likewise*

^b [Ch. xiii. 1 in Heb.]

Religious reformers have always recognized the perils of syncretism of the *forms* of worship ; by the transference or acceptance of an alien form the alien idea finds easy entrance.

31. abomination : cf. vii. 25 ; practically a technical term for acts of idolatry, though also used in the ethical sphere (xxv. 16 ; Lev. xviii. 22).

burn in the fire (2 Kings xvi. 3, xvii. 31, &c.) : see note on xviii. 10 for this form of child-sacrifice.

32. This verse (cf. R. V. marg.) relates to the three following cases (chap. xiii) of solicitation to heathen worship.

xiii. 1. **a dreamer of dreams.** The prophet is conceived as receiving his message by vision or dream (Num. xii. 6). In Jer. xxiii. 28, however, the prophecy nourished on dreams is distinguished from the ethical and spiritual message of Jeremiah himself.

a sign or a wonder : such as Isaiah offers Ahaz (Isa. vii. 11) to substantiate his message.

3. proveth you (viii. 2, 16), &c. : 'is putting you to the test to

to know whether ye love the LORD your God with all
 4 your heart and with all your soul. Ye shall walk after
 the LORD your God, and fear him, and keep his com-
 mandments, and obey his voice, and ye shall serve him,
 5 and cleave unto him. And that prophet, or that dreamer
 of dreams, shall be put to death; because he hath
 spoken ^arebellion against the LORD your God, which
 brought you out of the land of Egypt, and redeemed
 thee out of the house of bondage, to draw thee aside out
 of the way which the LORD thy God commanded thee to
 walk in. So shalt thou put away the evil from the midst
 of thee.

6 If thy brother, the son of thy mother, or thy son, or
 thy daughter, or the wife of thy bosom, or thy friend,
 which is as thine own soul, entice thee secretly, saying,

^a Heb. *turning aside*.

know whether you do (emph.) love' (Driver); i. e. whether your relationship to Yahweh is of such a character that it can defy even 'supernatural' evidence against His revealed will. The passage is important for the biblical doctrine of miracle (cf. Mozley, *Lectures on the O. T.*, p. 33); with it should be compared Paul's warning to the Galatians not to receive another gospel though an angel preached it (Gal. i. 8); and, on the other hand, Christ's refusal to give external signs of His truth (Mark viii. 11 f.), which He based primarily on moral experience (John vii. 17) and practical discernment (Matt. xvi. 3).

5. put away: consume or exterminate (as by burning); the phrase 'consume the evil from the midst' is characteristic of Deuteronomy, in which it occurs seven times, all except once of the death sentence.

6 f. The second example of solicitation, which is of a private character ('secretly,' verse 6; 'conceal,' verse 8). Even the closest personal ties must not protect the would-be idolater from unsparing denunciation and death (cf. xxxiii. 9).

the son of thy mother (Ps. l. 20): not, of course, a superfluous addition to 'brother' in the household of several wives (xxi. 15).

thy friend, which is as thine own soul: the same phrase occurs in one of the two classical examples of O. T. friendship

Let us go and serve other gods, which thou hast not known, thou, nor thy fathers ; of the gods of the peoples 7 which are round about you, nigh unto thee, or far off from thee, from the one end of the earth even unto the other end of the earth ; thou shalt not consent unto him, 8 nor hearken unto him ; neither shall thine eye pity him, neither shalt thou spare, neither shalt thou conceal him : but thou shalt surely kill him ; thine hand shall be 9 first upon him to put him to death, and afterwards the hand of all the people. And thou shalt stone him 10 with stones, that he die ; because he hath sought to draw thee away from the LORD thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. And all Israel shall hear, and fear, and shall 11 do no more any such wickedness as this is in the midst of thee.

If thou shalt hear tell ^a concerning one of thy cities, 12 which the LORD thy God giveth thee to dwell there,

^a Or, *in*

(1 Sam. xviii. 1) ; whilst, in the other, it is the worshipper of Yahweh who wins over the worshipper of Kemosh (Ruth i. 16).

7. far off: the Assyrians (2 Kings xvi. 10, xxi. 3^b, 'the host of heaven': cf. Deut. iv. 19) are probably meant ; for religious influences nearer at hand, see 1 Kings xi. 5, 7.

9. thine hand shall be first (xvii. 7) : i.e. in the public infliction of the death penalty of verse 10. The convicting witness must bear the initial responsibility of the act, cost him what sorrow it may.

10. Stoning was the only recognized form of capital punishment in Hebrew law (Benzinger, in *E.B.* 2722). Its adoption may be due partly in order to avoid literal blood-shedding (to any marked degree), and partly to keep down the dead man's spirit by the pile of stones cast on his body.

12 f. The third case of solicitation supposes it to have been successful, so that a city is tainted with heathen-worship.

hear tell concerning: read as in R. V. marg. ; the words 'in one of thy cities,' &c., are placed before 'saying' for greater emphasis, though actually part of what is said.

13 saying, Certain ^abase fellows are gone out from the midst of thee, and have drawn away the inhabitants of their city, saying, Let us go and serve other gods, which ye have not
 14 known; then shalt thou inquire, and make search, and ask diligently; and, behold, if it be truth, and the thing certain, that such abomination is wrought in the midst
 15 of thee; thou shalt surely smite the inhabitants of that city with the edge of the sword, ^bdestroying it utterly, and all that is therein and the cattle thereof, with the
 16 edge of the sword. And thou shalt gather all the spoil of it into the midst of the street thereof, and shalt burn with fire the city, and all the spoil thereof ^cevery whit, unto the LORD thy God: and it shall be an ^dheap for
 17 ever; it shall not be built again. And there shall cleave nought of the devoted thing to thine hand: that the LORD may turn from the fierceness of his anger, and shew thee mercy, and have compassion upon thee, and
 18 multiply thee, as he hath sworn unto thy fathers; when thou shalt hearken to the voice of the LORD thy God, to keep all his commandments which I command thee

^a Heb. *sons of worthlessness.*

^c Or, *as a whole burnt offering*

^b Heb. *devoting it.*

^d Or, *mound* Heb. *tel.*

13. base fellows: the Hebrew word for 'worthlessness' (R. V. marg.) is 'belial,' which in 2 Cor. vi. 15 has developed into a proper name for the devil. These men have **gone out from the midst** of Israel, i. e. are themselves Israelites.

16. spoil: included in the *herem*, which is of the severest type, like that on Jericho (Joshua vi. 24). See on xx. 17.

street: 'broad place,' like our 'market-place' or 'village-green.'

every whit. The Hebrew word, *kalil*, means 'entire' or 'whole,' and is also used specially of a 'holocaust' or sacrifice consumed wholly upon the altar (xxxiii. 10); here in the latter sense (R. V. marg.).

an heap for ever: like Ai (Joshua viii 28) or Rabbah (Jer. xlix. 2).

this day, to do that which is right in the eyes of the LORD thy God.

Ye are the children of the LORD your God : ye shall **14** not cut yourselves, nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead. For thou art an holy people unto ² the LORD thy God, and the LORD hath chosen thee to be a peculiar people unto himself, ^a above all peoples that are upon the face of the earth.

^a Or, *out of*

xiv. 1-21. The holiness of Israel is to be maintained by abstinence from cuttings for the dead (verses 1, 2), from eating the flesh of certain animals (verses 3-8), fishes (verses 9, 10), and birds (verses 11-20), and from other practices (verse 21) unworthy of the people of Yahweh.

The central part of this section (verses 4-20) stands in close relation to Lev. xi. 2-23, with which it agrees verbally to a large extent. The general character of the list disconnects it from D and relates it to P, and this is confirmed by the phrase 'after its kind,' which is characteristic of P. It is disputed, however, whether Deuteronomy here depends on Leviticus, or vice versa.

1. cut yourselves: cf. Lev. xix. 28 (xxi. 5, of the priests). It is clear from Jer. xvi. 6 (cf. xli. 5, xlvii. 5) that mourners cut themselves for the dead as part of the ordinary funeral ceremonies of the time, so that the present law, even if belonging to the original Law-book, was not observed. Such mutilations occur amongst many primitive peoples (examples in *Rel. Sem.*, p. 322 f.), and their object appears to be to maintain blood-communion, or a blood-covenant, with the dead. Similar cuttings were made by the heathen priests opposed by Elijah (1 Kings xviii. 28), to establish the blood-bond with their deity.

make any baldness between your eyes: the hair-offering at the grave is another widespread custom, with similar intent; the hair, like the blood, is a special seat of vitality. The custom is frequently mentioned in the O. T. as a natural feature of mourning (Amos viii. 10; Isa. xv. 2, xxii. 12; Mic. i. 16; Jer. xvi. 6; Ezek. vii. 18), the shaved patch 'between the eyes' (i. e. on the forehead) corresponding to the mourner's hatband in this country; whilst the cuttings on the hands (Jer. xlviii. 37) were doubtless as conventional a sign of mourning as black gloves. The former practice is forbidden to the priests in Lev. xxi. 5; other developments of the hair-offering are illustrated by the Nazirite's vow (Num. vi. 18), and the vow of Paul (Acts xviii. 18), and the priestly

3, 4 Thou shalt not eat any abominable thing. [P ?] These are the beasts which ye shall eat : the ox, the sheep, and
 5 the goat, the hart, and the gazelle, and the roebuck, and the wild goat, and the pygarg, and the antelope, and the
 6 chamois. And every beast that parteth the hoof, and hath the hoof cloven in two, *and* ^a cheweth the cud,
 7 among the beasts, that ye shall eat. Nevertheless these ye shall not eat of them that chew the cud, or of them that have the hoof cloven : the camel, and the hare, and the ^b coney, because they chew the cud but part not the
 8 hoof, they are unclean unto you : and the swine, because he parteth the hoof but cheweth not the cud, he is un-

^a Heb. *bringeth up*.

^b See Lev. xi. 5.

tonsure of ancient and modern times. Similar practices among the early Arabs are described by Wellhausen (*Reste*, p. 181).

3. abominable thing: the same word as in vii. 25 ('abomination'). 'No single principle, embracing satisfactorily all the cases, seems yet to have been found; and not improbably more principles than one co-operated' (Driver, p. 164). Probably certain animals had come to be preserved as a religious duty (totemism), or were connected with heathen rites (Ezek. viii. 10); others may have been considered as repulsive in themselves.

4f. The translation of the more unfamiliar names is often uncertain, and usually follows the suggestions of the ancient versions. The list of ten clean beasts is not given in Lev. xi. 2f.

5. pygarg: i. e. 'white-rump,' the name of a species of antelope, mentioned by Herodotus (iv. 192) as found in Libya.

chamois: the word (occurring here only) probably denotes some kind of mountain sheep, rather than the chamois, which belongs to Central Europe.

6f. Two characteristics of the 'clean' class are noted—(a) the division of the hoof, (b) the bringing up the cud; one only of these may belong to animals in the unclean class (verses 7, 8), viz. (b) to the camel, hare, rock-badger (R. V. marg.), and (a) to the swine. **Coney** is the Old-English word for 'rabbit' (cf. Ps. civ. 18; Prov. xxx. 26). 'Neither the rock-rabbit nor the hare really chews the cud, but the movements which they often make with their mouths give them the appearance of ruminating' (*S.B.O.T.*, Lev., p. 74).

clean unto you : of their flesh ye shall not eat, and their carcases ye shall not touch.

These ye shall eat of all that are in the waters : whatsoever hath fins and scales shall ye eat : and whatsoever hath not fins and scales ye shall not eat ; it is unclean unto you.

Of all clean birds ye may eat. But these are they of which ye shall not eat : the ^a eagle, and the gier eagle, and the ospray ; and the glede, and the falcon, and the kite after its kind ; and every raven after its kind ; and the ostrich, and the night hawk, and the seamew, and the hawk after its kind ; the little owl, and the great owl, and the horned owl ; and the pelican, and the vulture,

^a See Lev. xi. 13, &c.

9, 10. This general classification of fishes is stated at greater length in Lev. xi. 9-12.

12. eagle: R. V. marg. suggests 'great vulture.' There are four species of vultures and eight of eagles in Palestine. The Arabic equivalent of the Hebrew word here (*nesher*) covers all these generically, but the biblical usage of the word (Mic. i. 16, 'enlarge thy baldness as the nesher') shows that the griffon or great vulture is meant, which is without feathers on the head and neck (see Post in *D.B.* s. v. 'Eagle').

gier eagle: the bearded vulture, largest of all.

ospray: the short-toed eagle : 'It is the most abundant of the eagle tribe in Palestine' (Post, *l. c.*).

13. the glede, and the falcon, and the kite: read 'the kite and the falcon,' and omit 'glede,' which is simply a guess at a word which does not elsewhere occur, and is almost certainly due to a scribal error (cf. Lev. xi. 14, supported here by the ancient versions). 'Glede' is itself an old name for the kite, retained from A. V.

after its kind (P) : i. e. as a generic name, including various species.

16. horned owl: others, after LXX, as 'waterhen.' Reasons for rejection of the A. V. 'swan' are given by Post (*D.B.* s. v. 'Swan').

17. vulture: 'carriion-vulture,' known as 'Pharaoh's hen.'

18 and the cormorant ; and the stork, and the heron after its
 19 kind, and the hoopoe, and the bat. And all winged
 creeping things are unclean unto you : they shall not be
 20 eaten. Of all clean fowls ye may eat.

21 [D] Ye shall not eat of any thing that dieth of itself :
 thou mayest give it unto the stranger that is within thy
 gates, that he may eat it ; or thou mayest sell it unto a
 foreigner : for thou art an holy people unto the LORD
 thy God. Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's
 milk.

cormorant: some kind of plunging bird is meant ; the cormorant is an expert diver, and 'is common along the coast, coming up the Kishon and visiting the Sea of Galilee. It is likewise abundant along the Jordan' (*D.B.* s. v.).

18. heron: a conjecture, on the ground that the heron belongs to the same group as the stork.

19. creeping: 'swarming'; winged swarming things are insects that fly.

20. fowls: the Hebrew word is wider than the English, and denotes winged creatures in general. Some kinds of locusts are here included : cf. Lev. xi. 21, 22.

21. thing that dieth of itself: one word in Hebrew, rendered 'carcase' in verse 8 ; the ground of objection to it is that the blood has not been drained out, as the context of Lev. xvii. 15 implies. The verse suggests to the English reader a cynical disregard for the health of the 'stranger'; but this does not belong to the Hebrew law, which merely points out that the 'stranger' is free from the ceremonial obligations of the Israelite, without reference to the selfish disposal of diseased meat.

stranger: see on i. 16. The *gêr* is here distinguished from the *nokhri* (xv. 3), or 'foreigner,' who is not a settled resident like the *gêr*, but e. g. a foreign trader. The verse should be compared with Exod. xxii. 31 (JE), where it is said that flesh torn of beasts is to be given to the dogs ; and Lev. xvii. 15, where both kinds of flesh are forbidden to both Israelites and settled 'strangers' (cf. Exod. xii. 49, P), the latter class being practically 'proselytes.'

seethe (boil). The same law is found in Exod. xxiii. 19, xxxiv. 26 ; in both cases it is named in connexion with the offering of the firstfruits, which suggests a reference to some harvest rite (note verse 22 f.). Robertson Smith, who states that 'flesh seethed in milk is still a common Arabian dish,' thinks

Thou shalt surely tithe all the increase of thy seed, ²²
 that which cometh forth of the field year by year. And ²³
 thou shalt eat before the LORD thy God, in the place
 which he shall choose to cause his name to dwell there,
 the tithe of thy corn, of thy wine, and of thine oil, and
 the firstlings of thy herd and of thy flock; that thou
 mayest learn to fear the LORD thy God always. And if ²⁴
 the way be too long for thee, so that thou art not able to
 carry it, because the place is too far from thee, which the
 LORD thy God shall choose to set his name there, when

that milk is here (as elsewhere) regarded as equivalent to blood (*Rel. Sem.*, p. 221 n.). Here some heathen rite for promoting fertility of the field by the breach of a primitive taboo seems to be meant.

xiv. 22-29. *The Law of Tithes.* The tithe of all the produce of the ground, together with the firstlings, is to be eaten at the central sanctuary (verses 22-3). Its value may be realized in money and expended there according to choice, if the distance is too great for the transference of the tithe in kind (verses 24-6). The Levite is not to be forgotten in this family feast (verse 27). Every third year's tithe, however, is to be devoted to dependent classes of the particular district (verses 28, 29).

22. tithe. The payment of a tenth was frequent amongst many peoples (references in Moore's art. 'Tithes,' *E.B.*, for Greeks, Romans, Carthaginians, Egyptians, Syrians, Sabaeans, Lydians, Babylonians, and Chinese). The tithe was devoted by the early Hebrews to secular, i. e. royal (1 Sam. viii. 15, 17: cf. Amos vii. 1) or religious (Amos iv. 4: cf. Gen. xxviii. 22) purposes. The earliest Semitic sacred tithe of which we know, that of the Carthaginians sent to Tyre, was both political and religious (*Rel. Sem.*, p. 246). The priest would naturally receive something from all tithe offered at a temple to the deity; he would share, e. g., in the family feast prescribed by the present law. This is, however, to be clearly distinguished from the later law of Num. xviii. 21 (P), which claimed the whole tithe for the Levites. For a full discussion of their relation, see Driver, pp. 168-73. Cattle are not tithed by this law (contrast Lev. xxvii. 32).

23. See on xii. 5, 7; consumption is now transferred from the local (Amos iv. 4) to the central sanctuary.

firstlings: included here incidentally; for the law relating to them, see xv. 19-23.

25 the LORD thy God shall bless thee : then shalt thou turn it into money, and bind up the money in thine hand, and shalt go unto the place which the LORD thy God shall choose : and thou shalt bestow the money for whatsoever thy soul desireth, for oxen, or for sheep, or for wine, or for strong drink, or for whatsoever thy soul asketh of thee : and thou shalt eat there before the LORD thy God, and thou shalt rejoice, thou and thine household : and the Levite that is within thy gates, thou shalt not forsake him ; for he hath no portion nor inheritance with thee.

28 At the end of every three years thou shalt bring forth all the tithe of thine increase in the same year, and shalt lay it up within thy gates : and the Levite, because he hath no portion nor inheritance with thee, and the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, which are within thy gates, shall come, and shall eat and be satisfied ; that the LORD thy God may bless thee in all the work of thine hand which thou doest.

15 At the end of every seven years thou shalt make a

25. turn it into money : a concession necessitated by the new law of the one sanctuary.

bind up the money : i.e. in a purse : cf. Gen. xlii. 35 ('bundle,' the Heb. word for purse, being related to the verb 'bind').

28. At the end of every three years : i.e. the tithe of the third year is devoted wholly to charity (cf. xxvi. 12).

bring forth . . . lay up : i.e. this tithe is collected from individual Israelites and deposited in a common store for its specific use—the sustenance of the more or less dependent classes named here, and often elsewhere in this book (xvi. 11, 14, xxiv. 17, 19–21, xxvi. 12, 13).

xv. 1–18. *The Year of Release.* Every seventh year shall be 'a release to Yahweh' ; the creditor shall let drop his claim to what has been lent to a fellow Israelite (verses 1–3). If Israel is obedient, this law will not be required, for Israel will lend, not

release. And this is the manner of the release: every creditor shall release that which he hath lent unto his neighbour; he shall not exact it of his neighbour and his brother; because the LORD'S release hath been pro-

borrow (verses 4-6). Further, the Israelite is not to let the thought of this year's proximity hinder him from helping his needy brother (verses 7-11).

Slavery, in the case of an Israelite, is to be limited by the same term; in the seventh year the Hebrew slave is to be set free with liberal provision for his needs (verses 12-15). If, however, he choose to remain, his ear shall be pierced as a sign of the permanent bond now constituted (verses 16-18).

Cf. the law of Exod. xxiii. 10, 11 (JE), according to which land is to lie fallow in the seventh year (the spontaneous produce of that year to be for the poor), and the similar law of Lev. xxv. 1-7 (H), known as that of 'the Sabbatical year.' The suspension of agriculture in the seventh year, it has been thought, would make necessary, in many cases, some such provision as this for the suspension of debt-claims in that year. (The former law appears to be one form of a widespread resumption of the rights of the community in land). It is possible, however, that this law is intended to take the place of that in Exod. xxiii. 10, 11, rather than to supplement it.

1. At the end of every seven years: i. e. in the seventh year as rounding off this period. This will be seen from Jer. xxxiv. 14, where 'at the end of seven years' clearly implies that six years only have elapsed.

a release: *lit.* 'a letting drop,' as is seen from the use of the corresponding verb in 2 Kings ix. 33 (death of Jezebel; R. V. 'throw her down') and, figuratively, as here, in Exod. xxiii. 11 (R. V. marg.).

2. the LORD'S release: 'a release (in honour) of Yahweh': cf. Lev. xxv. 4, 'in the seventh year shall be a sabbath of complete rest for the land, a sabbath to Yahweh.' The fact that this is **proclaimed** shows that it is intended to be celebrated throughout the land at one and the same time. It is, however, very difficult to decide what is released or 'let drop.' Is it the debt itself, which is then wholly cancelled by this year of release? Or is it simply a temporary release from the obligation to repay during the seventh year? The most recent commentators are divided on this point. Dillmann, followed with considerable hesitation by Driver, takes the latter view, on the ground that the former would be impracticable and that the law connects with Exod. xxiii. 10, 11, where it is the use of the land for the seventh year that is

3 claimed. Of a foreigner thou mayest exact it: but
 whatsoever of thine is with thy brother thine hand
 4 shall^a release. Howbeit there shall be no poor with thee;
 (for the LORD will surely bless thee in the land which
 the LORD thy God giveth thee for an inheritance to
 5 possess it;) if only thou diligently hearken unto the voice
 of the LORD thy God, to observe to do all this command-
 6 ment which I command thee this day. For the LORD
 thy God will bless thee, as he promised thee: and thou
 shalt lend unto many nations, but thou shalt not
 borrow; and thou shalt rule over many nations, but
 they shall not rule over thee.

7 If there be with thee a poor man, one of thy brethren,
 within any of thy gates in thy land which the LORD thy
 God giveth thee, thou shalt not harden thine heart, nor
 8 shut thine hand from thy poor brother: but thou shalt
 surely open thine hand unto him, and shalt surely lend

^a Or, *release: save when there &c.*

suspended. Steuernagel and Bertholet hold the former view, on the ground that the law plainly relates to charitable loans, not business investments, and that the requirement that the loan should become a gift in such a case is not so unnatural as it might seem. This view seems more probable; its utter impracticability for business relations was easily evaded by the later Jews through a legal fiction.

3. a foreigner: i. e. the *nokhri*, not the settled *gēr* (see on xiv. 21), who stands in much closer relation to Israel.

4. R. V. marg. says that the law of release is not operative when there is no poverty. R. V. text states categorically that there shall be no poverty, before introducing the limitation of verse 5. The latter is more natural, though as an expression of an ideal it is literally inconsistent with verse 11, the statement of actual conditions.

with thee: 'in thee'; i. e. in thy midst.

7 f. The new paragraph deals with the practical difficulty at once raised by the law—that a loan on the eve of the year of release is tantamount to a gift.

him sufficient for his need *in that* which he wanteth. Beware that there be not a base thought in thine heart, 9 saying, The seventh year, the year of release, is at hand; and thine eye be evil against thy poor brother, and thou give him nought; and he cry unto the LORD against thee, and it be sin unto thee. Thou shalt surely give him, 10 and thine heart shall not be grieved when thou givest unto him: because that for this thing the LORD thy God shall bless thee in all thy work, and in all that thou puttest thine hand unto. For the poor shall never cease 11 out of the land: therefore I command thee, saying, Thou shalt surely open thine hand unto thy brother, to thy needy, and to thy poor, in thy land.

If thy brother, an Hebrew man, or an Hebrew woman, 12

9. thine eye be evil: xxviii. 54, 56. The evil eye is primarily the envious or grudging eye (Matt. xx. 15). Primitive thought credits the peripheral organs with actual psychical and ethical qualities, though our knowledge of the nervous system leads us to interpret such expressions as figurative.

cry unto Yahweh: Exod. xxii. 23; the spoken word has a power of its own.

sin unto thee: (xxiv. 15) Heb. 'in thee'; so R.V. in xxiii. 22.

It is difficult to conceive that the strong language of this verse can relate simply to a question of deferred payment; indeed Benzinger goes so far as to say that verse 9 'makes it impossible to interpret the law as meaning merely that repayment of the debt is postponed for a year' (*E.B.* 2727). Cf. 'givest' in verse 10.

12 f. For the parallel law in JE, see Exod. xxi. 2-6; Lev. xxv. 39-46 (H and P) gives a later law, according to which the Israelite is not to be a slave at all, but a hired servant, and released in the year of Jubile. Foreigners only are to be slaves for life.

On Semitic slavery in general, see S. A. Cook, *The Laws of Moses*, chap. vii. For the parallel law in the Code of Hammurabi, see Introd., p. 22. That the present law was by no means uniformly observed is shown by Jer. xxxiv. 8 f.

an Hebrew woman: explicitly excluded from the sphere of this law by Exod. xxi. 7; the older law allowed even the wife of the slave to go out with him only if she entered servitude with him, as his wife already. Deuteronomy, in placing the Hebrewess

be sold unto thee, and serve thee six years ; then in the seventh year thou shalt let him go free from thee.
 13 And when thou lettest him go free from thee, thou shalt
 14 not let him go empty : thou shalt furnish him liberally out of thy flock, and out of thy threshing-floor, and out of thy winepress : as the LORD thy God hath blessed thee
 15 thou shalt give unto him. And thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt, and the LORD thy God redeemed thee : therefore I command
 16 thee this thing to-day. And it shall be, if he say unto thee, I will not go out from thee ; because he loveth thee
 17 and thine house, because he is well with thee ; then thou shalt take an awl, and thrust it through his ear unto the door, and he shall be thy ^a servant for ever. And also
 18 unto thy ^b maidservant thou shalt do likewise. It shall not seem hard unto thee, when thou lettest him go free

^a Or, *bondman*

^b Or, *bondwoman*

on an equality of rights with the Hebrew, is consistent with its recognition of the improved status of woman in v. 21 (see note). Cf. verse 17^b.

and serve : rather, 'he shall serve.'

14. furnish him liberally : Heb. 'make a rich necklace for him' ; the same verb in Ps. lxxiii. 6.

17. thrust it through his ear : for primitive thought such a ceremony is more than symbolical. The ear is the organ of obedience, and as such possesses psychical and ethical qualities. In the Code of Hammurabi (Law 282) the slave who refuses to obey his master has his ear cut off. The ear seems to have been a favourite place for branding slaves (Cook, *The Laws of Moses*, p. 159). Some of the ear-boring rites of primitive peoples are probably an acknowledgement of the worshippers' service to the deity, to whom they stand as slaves.

unto the door of his master's house, on whose threshold a blood-bond is thus made (Clay Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant*, p. 210). In Exod. xxi. 6, however, this is preceded by the bringing of the slave to the sanctuary ('unto God'), whereas the present law makes the rite simply a domestic one.

from thee ; for to the double of the hire of an hireling hath he served thee six years : and the LORD thy God shall bless thee in all that thou doest.

All the firstling males that are born of thy herd and of thy flock thou shalt sanctify unto the LORD thy God : thou shalt do no work with the firstling of thine ox, nor shear the firstling of thy flock. Thou shalt eat it before the LORD thy God year by year in the place which the LORD shall choose, thou and thy household. And if it have any blemish, *as if it be* lame or blind, any ill blemish whatsoever, thou shalt not sacrifice it unto the

18. to the double of the hire of an hireling : a day-labourer would have cost twice as much. For a modern parallel to the practice here enjoined, see Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i. 554 'cited by Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 167. :—'The condition of a slave is always tolerable and is often happy in Arabia . . . It is not many years, "if their house-lord fears Ullah" before he will give them their liberty ; and then he sends them not away empty.'

xv. 19-23. *The Law of Firstlings.* The firstborn males of oxen and sheep are to be eaten yearly at the one sanctuary, in a family feast (verses 19-20). If, however, any one of these be not perfect, it is to be eaten at home as ordinary food (verses 21-23).

Parallel laws are found in JE (Exod. xiii. 11-16, xxii. 29, 30, xxxiv. 19-20), and in P (Num. xviii. 15-18). The chief differences (which exemplify the practical interests of Deuteronomy) are that the earlier law (Exod. xxii. 30, orders the offering of the firstborn on the eighth day after birth, which the law of the central sanctuary makes impracticable, and that the later law (Num. xviii. 18, gives the whole of the flesh as a priests' due, instead of directing its consumption at a family feast.

19. firstling males : these were originally placed under the taboo which belongs to all that is connected with birth and its mysteries (Intro., p. 25). If a firstling ass was not redeemed by its owner, its neck was to be broken (Exod. xxxiv. 20 : cf. *Rel. Sem.*, p. 463). The maintenance of this taboo is still seen here, in the exclusion of the firstling from ordinary work or use.

20. year by year : i. e. at such a yearly festival as the passover (chap. xvi), a custom which would explain the present place of this law.

21. blemish : cf. xvii. 1.

- 22 LORD thy God. Thou shalt eat it within thy gates :
the unclean and the clean *shall eat it* alike, as the
23 gazelle, and as the hart. Only thou shalt not eat the
blood thereof ; thou shalt pour it out upon the ground
as water.
- 16 Observe the month of Abib, and keep the passover

22. the unclean and the clean : see on xii. 15 ; it is to be treated as ordinary food, the taboo being in this case disregarded.

xvi. 1-17. *The Three Annual Festivals* :—(a) Passover (and Unleavened Bread) (verses 1-8) ; (b) Weeks (= Pentecost) (verses 9-12) ; (c) Tabernacles (verses 13-15). Summary (verses 16, 17).

Parallel laws are found in JE (Exod. xxiii. 14-17, xxxiv. 18, 22-4, xii. 21-7, xiii. 3-10), and in HP (Lev. xxiii) and P (Num. xxviii and xxix).

In the summary of these festivals (verse 16) they are called the feast of Mazzoth (unleavened bread), the feast of weeks, and the feast of booths. The second and third of these are plainly agricultural ; the first also is of the same character, since (a) it is connected with the time of putting the sickle to the standing corn (verse 9) ; (b) produce is offered at it as at the other feasts (verse 17), especially ' the sheaf of the firstfruits ' (Lev. xxiii. 10) ; (c) the name suggests bread made in haste (Gen. xviii. 6, xix. 3, Exod. xii. 34) from the newly-reaped barley (cf. Joshua v. 11). But agricultural feasts, such as these, can have had no place in the nomadic life of Israel. They must belong to the time subsequent to its settlement in Canaan, and were most probably derived from the Canaanites themselves, amongst whom the vintage festival, at any rate, was celebrated (Judges ix. 27, xxi. 19 f.). The first of these festivals is here connected with sacrifices of another kind (verse 2), and with another name, the Passover (verse 1 f.). This connexion appears to have existed from an earlier time (Exod. xxxiv. 25, xii. 21 f.), the characteristic features of the Passover rites being (a) the sacrifice of the firstlings of cattle and the redemption of the firstborn of man (Exod. xxxiv. 19 ; note verse 18 for connexion with Mazzoth) ; (b) the sprinkling of the posts of the door with blood (Exod. xii. 22) ; (c) the evening celebration (verses 4-7 : cf. Exod. xii. 22). Of these, (a) will connect with the law of firstlings (xv. 19 f.) ; (b) is some form of ' threshold covenant,' in which the blood wards off peril, as from pestilence (see on vi. 9) ; and (c) suggests that the festival is related to the phases of the moon. Scholars differ in opinion as to which of these gives the central meaning of the Passover ; W. R. Smith,

unto the LORD thy God : for in the month of Abib the LORD thy God brought thee forth out of Egypt by night. And thou shalt sacrifice the passover unto the LORD thy God, of the flock and the herd, in the place which the LORD shall choose to cause his name to dwell there. Thou shalt eat no leavened bread with it ; seven days shalt thou eat unleavened bread therewith, even the

for example, emphasizes (a) : 'In the Passover we find the sacrifice of firstlings assuming the form of an annual feast, in the spring season' (*Rel. Sem.*, p. 465) ; Benzinger emphasizes (b), (*E.B.* 3595) ; and others have emphasized the relation of spring festivals to the calendar. (For the importance of the moon in regard to Semitic agriculture, see Jastrow, *Babylonian-Assyrian Religion*, p. 461.) The 'Passover' may well have been Israel's own contribution to the combined festival of Passover—Maz̄oth ; in its original form it may have been connected with the Exodus, according to the tradition of Exod. v. 1, xii. 31, &c. At any rate, each of the three festivals subsequently gained a historical meaning ; the first is here made a memorial of the Exodus (verses 1, 3, 6, as perhaps already in Exod. xii. 27, JE) ; the Feast of Booths commemorated the desert wanderings (Lev. : xiii. 43, H) ; whilst, outside the limits of the O. T., the Feast of Weeks was connected with the delivery of the law at Sinai (*E.B.* 3651). The characteristics of Deuteronomy, in dealing with these festivals, are—(a) their centralization at Jerusalem, with its consequences, (b) emphasis on their historical character in general (see on Deut. xxvi. 5 f.).

1. Abib. The word relates to fresh ears of barley in Exod. ix. 31 ('in the ear') ; hence it is used of the period of the year in which these are formed (i. e. our April), the first month of the priestly year, whose post-exilic name was Nisan.

the passover : Heb. *p̄sah*, whose meaning is usually explained from Exod. xii. 13. Others connect with a similar word meaning to leap, or limp (1 Kings xviii. 26), and explain it as meaning a ritual dance ; others, again (Zimmern, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*³, p. 610 note³), connect with the Assyrian *pasāhu* (be appeased) as a rite of expiation.

2. of the flock and the herd : i. e. either a sheep or an ox, the range of choice for the Passover sacrifice being wider than in the later law of P (Exod. xii. 3-6), by which the sacrifice must be a lamb or kid.

3. unleavened bread : (for the relation of Maz̄oth to the

bread of affliction ; for thou camest forth out of the land of Egypt in haste : that thou mayest remember the day when thou camest forth out of the land of Egypt all
 4 the days of thy life. And there shall be no leaven seen with thee in all thy borders seven days ; neither shall any of the flesh, which thou sacrificest the first day at even,
 5 remain all night until the morning. Thou mayest not sacrifice the passover within any of thy gates, which the
 6 LORD thy God giveth thee : but at the place which the LORD thy God shall choose to cause his name to dwell in, there thou shalt sacrifice the passover at even, at the going down of the sun, at the season that thou camest
 7 forth out of Egypt. And thou shalt ^a roast and eat it in the place which the LORD thy God shall choose : and thou shalt turn in the morning, and go unto thy tents.
 8 Six days thou shalt eat unleavened bread : and on the seventh day shall be ^b a solemn assembly to the LORD thy God ; thou shalt do no work *therein*.

^a Or, *seethe*

^b See Lev. xxiii. 36.

Passover, see above) ; here called **the bread of affliction** on the ground of Exod. xii. 34, 39, and a frequent form of food prepared in **haste** or 'trepidation' (Driver) (see above, and cf. 1 Sam. xxviii. 24).

4. The two prohibitions of this verse are connected by Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.*, p. 221 note) with one another and with the idea 'that the efficacy of the sacrifice lay in the living flesh and blood of the victim. Everything of the nature of putrefaction was therefore to be avoided.'

6. **season** : rendered 'set time' in Exod. ix. 5 ; the time of day is meant (Exod. xii. 29 f.).

7. **roast**. The normal meaning of the Heb. word is 'boil' (R. V. marg. *seethe*), as rendered in xiv. 21, and as it should be rendered here. The later law of P (Exod. xii. 9) forbids the flesh of the passover sacrifice to be boiled.

unto thy tents : i.e. home, where the following Mazzoth festival is to be kept. For the phrase, see on Joshua xxii. 4.

8. **a solemn assembly** : R. V. marg. offers the alternative

Seven weeks shalt thou number unto thee: from the 9
time thou beginnest to put the sickle to the standing
corn shalt thou begin to number seven weeks. And 10
thou shalt keep the feast of weeks unto the LORD thy
God ^a with a tribute of a freewill offering of thine hand,
which thou shalt give, according as the LORD thy God
blesseth thee: and thou shalt rejoice before the LORD 11
thy God, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy
manservant, and thy maidservant, and the Levite that is
within thy gates, and the stranger, and the fatherless,
and the widow, that are in the midst of thee, in the
place which the LORD thy God shall choose to cause his
name to dwell there. And thou shalt remember that 12
thou wast a bondman in Egypt: and thou shalt observe
and do these statutes.

^a Or, *after the measure of the &c.*

'closing festival,' this seventh sabbatical day being the close of the whole week; but the word is used in a general sense also (Jer. ix. 2). Read simply 'an assembly.'

9. The 'feast of weeks' (verses 10, 16; Exod. xxxiv. 22) is so called because it marks the completion of the seven weeks of corn harvest; its better-known name, Pentecost, meaning 'the fiftieth' (day), was used by Hellenistic Jews (cf. Lev. xxiii. 16). It is called 'the feast of harvest' in Exod. xxiii. 16, and 'the day of firstfruits' in Num. xxviii. 26 (here, however, no mention is made of the firstfruits).

sickle: for the only other reaping instrument named in the O. T., see Jer. l. 16; Joel iii. 13 (a different word). Both sickle flints, to make a cutting edge, and iron sickles have been found at Tell el Hesi (*E.B.* 81).

10. feast: Heb. *hag*, the same word as the Arabic *haj*, the well-known annual pilgrimage to Mecca. Driver prefers to render by 'pilgrimage'; in any case, this element in the meaning of the word must not be overlooked. Possibly 'pilgrim-feast' may be used with advantage.

with a tribute: read with R. V. marg.; the Hebrew word probably means 'sufficiency,' and the meaning is 'the full amount that thou canst afford.'

11. See on xii. 5, 7, 12.

- 13 Thou shalt keep the feast of ^a tabernacles seven days, after that thou hast gathered in from thy threshing-
 14 floor and from thy winepress : and thou shalt rejoice in thy feast, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy manservant, and thy maidservant, and the Levite, and the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, that are
 15 within thy gates. Seven days shalt thou keep a feast unto the LORD thy God in the place which the LORD shall choose : because the LORD thy God shall bless thee in all thine increase, and in all the work of thine hands,
 16 and thou shalt be altogether joyful. Three times in a year shall all thy males appear before the LORD thy God in the place which he shall choose ; in the feast of unleavened bread, and in the feast of weeks, and in the feast of tabernacles : and they shall not appear before
 17 the LORD empty : every man ^b shall give as he is able, according to the blessing of the LORD thy God which he hath given thee.
- 18 Judges and officers shalt thou make thee in all thy
- ^a Heb. *booths*. ^b Heb. *according to the gift of his hand*.

13. The feast of booths (R. V. marg.) is called in Exod. xxiii. 16, xxxiv. 22 (JE) the feast of ingathering ; and, as the chief of the three, is also called simply 'the feast' (1 Kings viii. 2, 65, &c.). The custom of living in 'booths' at the vintage season has been enshrined in the law of Lev. xxiii. 40-3. The feast is the autumn thanksgiving for the produce of the year, which the vintage completes (September).

15. Cf. Lev. xxiii. 39 ; this feast, only, retains the worshippers more than a day at Jerusalem.

16 f. The concluding summary is parallel with Exod. xxiii. 17. **appear before** : the original punctuation of the Hebrew verb here as elsewhere (xxxi. 11, &c.), perhaps expressed 'see the face of' (cf. 2 Sam. iii. 13, &c.), the phrase used of obtaining audience of a king or ruler.

xvi. 18—xviii. 22 (except xvi. 21—xvii. 7) : *Judges, King, Priests, Prophets*. The appointment of local judges whose judicial acts

gates, which the LORD thy God giveth thee, according to thy tribes : and they shall judge the people with righteous judgement. Thou shalt not wrest judgement ; thou ¹⁹ shalt not respect persons : neither shalt thou take a gift ; for a gift doth blind the eyes of the wise, and pervert the ^a words of the righteous. ^b That which is ²⁰ altogether just shalt thou follow, that thou mayest live,

^a Or, *cause*

^b Heb. *Justice, justice.*

shall be impartial (xvi. 18-20). Reference of difficult cases to a court of appeal at Jerusalem, whose decisions shall be final, contempt of court being punishable with death (xvii. 8-13).

The future king of Israel shall be Yahweh's choice and an Israelite (xvii. 14, 15). He shall not multiply horses, wives, or wealth (verses 16, 17). A royal copy of this law shall be made, which he shall study and obey, that he may be saved from pride and disobedience, and may prolong his reign and that of his dynasty (verses 18-20). The Levitical priests, having no other inheritance, shall be supported from the offerings made to Yahweh and from dues paid by the people (xviii. 1-5). Local Levites who come up to Jerusalem shall there have equal rights of ministry and support with their brethren (verses 6-8).

The magic and divination of Canaan shall not be practised by Israel (verses 9-14). Instead, there shall be a succession of prophets to take the place of Moses, authoritatively commissioned by Yahweh, the test of the true prophet being the conformity of his message to actual events (verses 15-22).

xvi. 18 f. *Judges.*

18. Judges and officers : the appointment of these local (**in all thy gates**) judges and their assistants was rendered necessary by the destruction of the local sanctuaries, whose priests had given judgements in the name of Yahweh (Exod. xxi. 6, xxii. 8 ; 1 Sam. ii. 25 ; Isa. xxviii. 7). Josephus makes the appointment to be of seven judges for each city, each with two Levites to assist him (*Antiq.* iv. 8. 14)—a description probably drawn from the customs of his own day. For examples of the powers of these judges, cf. xix. 17, xxi. 2, xxv. 2. The relation of these judges to the 'elders' (see on xix. 11) is not clear.

19. Cf. the Code of Hammurabi, § 5, for the severe sentence on the judge who revokes his own properly declared verdict (presumably on corrupt grounds). Attempted bribery is there punished by the penalty from which escape is sought, § 4.

words : so the Hebrew, but in sense of R. V. marg.

and inherit the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee.

21 Thou shalt not plant thee an Asherah of any kind of tree beside the altar of the LORD thy God, which thou shalt make thee. Neither shalt thou set thee up a^a pillar; which the LORD thy God hateth.

17 Thou shalt not sacrifice unto the LORD thy God an ox, or a sheep, wherein is a blemish, *or* any evilfavouredness: for that is an abomination unto the LORD thy God.

^a Or, *obelisk*

xvi. 21—xvii. 7. *Laws against Idolatrous or Improper Worship.* No Asherah and no Mazzebah shall be erected by Yahweh's altar (xvi. 21, 22); no blemished animal shall be sacrificed to Him (xvii. 1); the Israelite convicted through two witnesses of worshipping other gods shall be stoned to death (xvii. 2-7).

This short section is clearly out of place, since it breaks the connexion between xvi. 20 and xvii. 8. Its most natural place would be between chaps. xii and xiii.

21. **Asherah**: (vii. 5, xii. 3) this transliteration of the Hebrew word is not to be regarded as the name of a person (the existence of any goddess of this name is uncertain) nor confused with Ashtoreth, the Phoenician goddess. It was a wooden post (Judges vi. 26), which stood by Canaanite altars (Judges vi. 25: cf. Exod. xxxiv. 13), and by the altars of Yahweh, prior to the Deuteronomic reform (2 Kings xiii. 6, xxiii. 6, 15). The most natural explanation regards it as a development from tree-worship (cf. *Rel. Sem.*, p. 188; and for a popular account of tree-worship, Philpot, *The Sacred Tree*).

22. **pillar**, or, 'Mazzebah,' is the upright stone, frequently named with the Asherah as standing by the altar or high place (vii. 5, xii. 3). There were sacred stones at Shechem (Joshua xxiv. 26), Bethel (Gen. xxviii. 18 f.), Gilgal (Joshua iv. 20); cf. Hosea iii. 4 (*Rel. Sem.*, 203). For the place of the sacred stone in Semitic religion, see Moore's art. 'Massebah' in *E.B.*; it appears to have been 'the rude precursor of the temple and the altar as well as of the idol' (*E.B.* 2982). An illustration of a Phoenician Mazzebah will be found in *D.B.* s. v. 'Pillar.'

xvii. 1. **blemish**: xv. 21; Lev. xxii. 17-25 (H): cf. Lev. i. 3 (P) &c. The **abomination** (vii. 25) of such an offering is emphasized in Mal. i. 8.

If there be found in the midst of thee, within any of ² thy gates which the LORD thy God giveth thee, man or woman, that doeth that which is evil in the sight of the LORD thy God, in transgressing his covenant, and hath ³ gone and served other gods, and worshipped them, or the sun, or the moon, or any of the host of heaven, which I have not commanded ; and it be told thee, and ⁴ thou hast heard of it, then shalt thou inquire diligently, and, behold, if it be true, and the thing certain, that such abomination is wrought in Israel ; then shalt thou bring ⁵ forth that man or that woman, which have done this evil thing, unto thy gates, even the man or the woman ; and thou shalt stone them with stones, that they die. At ⁶ the mouth of two witnesses, or three witnesses, shall he that is to die be put to death ; at the mouth of one witness he shall not be put to death. The hand of the ⁷ witnesses shall be first upon him to put him to death, and afterward the hand of all the people. So thou shalt put away the evil from the midst of thee.

If there arise a matter too hard for thee in judgement, ⁸ between blood and blood, between plea and plea, and

2 f. Cf. Exod. xxii. 20 (JE) and Deut. xiii, which deals with seduction to this idolatry.

covenant: cf. Joshua vii. 11, 15, &c.: see on iv. 13. Here the term is equivalent to 'ordinance' or 'injunction.'

3. See on iv. 19.

4. Cf. xiii. 14.

5. The idolater is to be stoned to death without the gate (cf. Num. xv. 36). Stephen died under this law (Acts vii. 57 f.).

6. A special application of the general provision of xix. 15 : cf. Num. xxxv. 30.

7. See on xiii. 9 ; and note that in both cases the death penalty is carried out by the entire community (cf. E.B. 2718).

8 f. The subject of xvi. 18-20 is continued ; difficult cases shall be referred from the local courts to Jerusalem.

between blood and blood: i. e. whether the act of killing has been intentional or accidental (Exod. xxi. 12-14). Similar

between stroke and stroke, being matters of controversy within thy gates: then shalt thou arise, and get thee up unto the place which the LORD thy God shall choose; 9 and thou shalt come unto the priests the Levites, and unto the judge that shall be in those days: and thou shalt inquire; and they shall shew thee the sentence of 10 judgement: and thou shalt do according to the tenor of the sentence, which they shall shew thee from that place which the LORD shall choose; and thou shalt observe to 11 do according to all that they shall teach thee: according to the tenor of the law which they shall teach thee, and according to the judgement which they shall tell thee, thou shalt do: thou shalt not turn aside from the 12 sentence which they shall shew thee, to the right hand, nor to the left. And the man that doeth presumptuously, in not hearkening unto the priest that

difficulties might arise in regard to the **plea** (a general word), including, if not designating, disputes about property (e.g. Exod. xxii. 1 f.) and in regard to the **stroke**, which refers to personal injuries (such as those of Exod. xxi. 18 f.).

within thy gates: i. e. locally (xii. 12), hardly with reference to the 'gate' as the place of judgement.

9. the priests the Levites: see on xviii. 1.

the judge: possibly the king is meant, as in Amos ii. 3; Micah v. 1. That the king was supreme judge in Israel is clear from 2 Sam. viii. 15, xiv. 4 f., xv. 2, 1 Kings vii. 7, &c. A supreme court is said to have been instituted by Jehoshaphat, according to 2 Chron. xix. 8, of spiritual and lay judges, with the chief priest as president in sacred, and a representative of the king in secular cases.

thou shalt inquire: read with LXX 'they shall inquire' (cf. xix. 18), i. e. the judges who will 'declare' (R.V. **shew**) the sentence.

10. tenor: Hebrew 'mouth': cf. xix. 15, xxi. 5 ('word'). The idiom 'according to the mouth of' here expresses 'exactly,' or 'literally.'

teach: 'direct,' the verb corresponding to the noun 'torah' (verse 11), 'direction,' and so 'law.'

12. The relation of the 'priest' and the 'judge' is not clear,

standeth to minister there before the LORD thy God, or unto the judge, even that man shall die : and thou shalt put away the evil from Israel. And all the people shall ¹³ hear, and fear, and do no more presumptuously.

When thou art come unto the land which the LORD ¹⁴ thy God giveth thee, and shalt possess it, and shalt dwell therein ; and shalt say, I will set a king over me, like as all the nations that are round about me ; thou shalt in ¹⁵ any wise set him king over thee, whom the LORD thy God shall choose : one from among thy brethren shalt thou set king over thee : thou mayest not put a foreigner over thee, which is not thy brother. Only he shall not ¹⁶ multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he should multiply horses : forasmuch as the LORD hath said unto you, Ye shall

unless we suppose that a division of jurisdiction is implied (see on verse 9). For **put away**, see on xiii. 5. The decision is that of Yahweh ; hence the severe penalty for contempt of court.

xvii. 14-20. *The future king.*

14. I will set a king over me : cf. 1 Sam. viii. 5, which belongs to the later of the two narratives of the institution of the kingship, representing Samuel as hostile to such institution. Deuteronomy shares something of this hostility, drawn from the actual experience of the monarchy (verse 16), and expressed in previous prophetic teaching (e. g. Hos. viii. 4).

15. The king must be Yahweh's choice (1 Sam. x. 24 ; 2 Sam. vi. 21), and a native Israelite.

16, 17. The prohibition of multiplied horses, wives, and wealth is clearly aimed at such conduct as Solomon's (1 Kings x. 14-xi. 8), and implies the memory of his reign.

horses : i. e. for war. The Hebrew suspicion of foreign methods of fighting is reflected in Joshua xi. 9, where the captured horses are houghed. Cf. Hos. xiv. 3 ; Isa. ii. 7 ; Micah v. 10.

to return to Egypt : hardly of an Israelite slave-trade (Steuernagel), but of the general relations of commerce, as in 1 Kings x. 28. Egypt was famous for its horses.

hath said : cf. xxviii. 68 ; the source of this quotation is not included in the extant O. T. documents ; but cf. Exod. xiii. 17, xiv. 13.

- 17 henceforth return no more that way. Neither shall he multiply wives to himself, that his heart turn not away: neither shall he greatly multiply to himself silver and gold.
- 18 And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book, out of *that which is* before the priests the Levites:
- 19 and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life: that he may learn to fear the LORD his God, to keep all the words of this law and these
- 20 statutes, to do them: that his heart be not lifted up above his brethren, and that he turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand, or to the left: to the end that he may prolong his days in his kingdom, he and his children, in the midst of Israel.
- 18 The priests the Levites, ^a *even* all the tribe of Levi, shall have no portion nor inheritance with Israel: they

^a Or, and

17. that his heart turn not away: as did Solomon's (1 Kings xi. 4 f.), through the foreign religion of the women of his harem.

silver and gold: as a source of pride (verse 20: cf. Isa. xxxix).

18 f. The king is to write out for himself the Deuteronomic law from the sanctuary edition (xxxi. 9, 26), and rule by its precepts.

a copy of this law: Hebrew, 'a repetition of this law,' wrongly understood by the LXX (so in Joshua viii. 32) as meaning 'this repetition of the law,' whence is derived the name of the book 'Deuteronomy,' the 'second law.'

xviii. 1-8. *The Priests:* (a) support (verses 1-5), (b) equality (verses 6-8).

1. The priests the Levites: i. e., as the verse explicitly states ('all the tribe of Levi'), every Levite is a potential or actual priest. (There is no ground for R. V. marg.). The later law of P confined the priesthood to 'Aaron's sons, the priests' (Lev. i. 5, &c.): see on x. 8.

no portion nor inheritance with Israel. The early history of the tribe of Levi is obscurely reflected in Gen. xxxiv. 25, 30, xlix. 5 f., where it appears as a secular tribe; in Deut. xxxiii. 8-11 it appears as a priestly community. We have no clear evidence as to the transition; but the passages cited from Genesis imply the disappearance of Levi and Simeon as distinct tribes. The most

shall eat the offerings of the LORD made by fire, and his inheritance. And they shall have no inheritance among 2 their brethren : the LORD is their inheritance, as he hath spoken unto them. And this shall be the priests' due 3 from the people, from them that offer a sacrifice, whether it be ox or sheep, that they shall give unto the priest the shoulder, and the two cheeks, and the maw. The 4 firstfruits of thy corn, of thy wine, and of thine oil, and the first of the fleece of thy sheep, shalt thou give him. For the LORD thy God hath chosen him out of all thy 5 tribes, to stand to minister in the name of the LORD, him and his sons for ever.

And if a Levite come from any of thy gates out of all 6

probable explanation of the priestly character, subsequently assigned to Levi, is that the descendants of the Levite Moses became a nucleus for priests in general, of whatever tribal origin, who replaced the old scattered or exterminated secular tribe. (For fuller details, see *D. B.* s. v. 'Levi.')

the offerings of Yahweh made by fire: 1 Sam. ii. 28 ; Josh. xiii. 14 (interpolated) and often in P ; 'it is thus used of the burnt-offering (Lev. i. 9), the meal-offering (Lev. ii. 3), the thank-offering (Lev. iii. 3), the guilt-offering (Lev. vii. 5), in all of which specified parts were the perquisite of the priests (Lev. ii. 3, vii. 6-10 ; Num. xviii. 9 f.).' (Driver.)

his inheritance: i. e. such other dues as are named in verse 4. Cf. verse 2, 'Yahweh (therefore the offerings made to Him) is their inheritance.'

3. The dues from the fire-offerings (of D) are stated ; contrast those of Lev. vii. 34 ; Num. xviii. 18, where the breast and thigh are assigned (P). For the priest's share in earlier times see 1 Sam. ii. 13-16 : cf. Judges xvii. 10.

4. Cf. Num. xviii. 12. For the earlier offering of firstfruits, see Exod. xxiii. 19, xxxiv. 26 (JE) : see on xxvi. 2 f., and cf. *Rel. Sem.*, p. 241.

xviii. 6-8. The (dispossessed) country priests (Levites) shall be at liberty to come to Jerusalem and receive an equal place in ministry and support with the priests already there. Contrast 2 Kings xxiii. 9 (Introd., p. 11).

sojourneth: his occupation being gone, he can no longer be regarded as a settled resident. Deuteronomy knows of no Levitical cities.

Israel, where he sojourneth, and come with all the desire of his soul unto the place which the LORD shall choose ;
 7 then he shall minister in the name of the LORD his God, as all his brethren the Levites do, which stand there
 8 before the LORD. They shall have like portions to eat, beside that which cometh of the sale of his patrimony.
 9 When thou art come into the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not learn to do after the
 10 abominations of those nations. There shall not be found with thee any one that maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, one that useth divination, one that

6. and come : 'he shall come' is preferable, with 'and' for 'then' in verse 7.

8. beside that which cometh of the sale of his patrimony : 'besides his sellings according to the fathers,' i. e. the sale either of his local possessions (R. V.) or of private dues on leaving for Jerusalem. So Driver, who adds—'Either explanation is questionable : all that can be said is that the words describe some private source of income possessed by the Levite, distinct from what he receives as a priest officiating at the central sanctuary.'

xviii. 9-22. *Prophets* : the contrast of prophecy with (heathen) magic and divination.

10. pass through the fire : cf. xii. 31 ; the reference is to the rites of Molech-worship (Lev. xviii. 21, xx. 2-5), frequently condemned by the prophets (Jer. vii. 31) : cf. 2 Kings xvi. 3, xvii. 17, xxi. 6, xxiii. 10, for its prevalence amongst Israelites. Victims were actually killed, according to these and other passages, though little is known of the details of the ceremony. We may explain the words as referring to some fire-ordeal, supposed to elicit a divine response (so Driver, p. 222).

The following list of eight varieties of the magician or diviner forms a *locus classicus* for the study of the subject. The terms (fully discussed in Driver's Commentary) are:—(1) **One that useth divination** : as by the headless arrows (Ezek. xxi. 21) used in drawing lots at a sanctuary by the Arabs; this is the most general term. (2) **one that practiseth augury** : a soothsayer, the Hebrew term (Judges ix. 37, cf. R. V. marg.) perhaps denoting one who muttered his incantations. (3) **an enchanter** : or observer of omens (Gen. xliv. 5 ; Num. xxiv. 1). (4) **a sorcerer** : using material means in his magic (Micah v. 12 : cf. Exod. xxii.

practiseth augury, or an enchanter, or a sorcerer, or a 11
 charmer, or a consulter with a familiar spirit, or a wizard,
 or a necromancer. For whosoever doeth these things is 12
 an abomination unto the LORD: and because of
 these abominations the LORD thy God doth drive them
 out from before thee. Thou shalt be perfect with the 13
 LORD thy God. For these nations, which thou shalt 14
 possess, hearken unto them that practise augury, and
 unto diviners: but as for thee, the LORD thy God hath
 not suffered thee so to do. The LORD thy God will raise 15
 up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy
 brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken;
 according to all that thou desiredst of the LORD thy 16
 God in Horeb in the day of the assembly, saying, Let
 me not hear again the voice of the LORD my God,
 neither let me see this great fire any more, that I die
 not. And the LORD said unto me, They have well said 17

18). (5) **a charmer**: as of serpents (Ps. lviii. 5), the term perhaps expressing one who composes a spell. (6) and (7) **a consulter with a familiar spirit, or a wizard**: rather, 'with a ghost or familiar spirit' (Lev. xx. 27), the former exemplified by the 'witch of Endor' (1 Sam. xxviii. 7), the latter perhaps by Acts xvi. 16. (8) **a necromancer**, or inquirer of the dead: cf. Isa. viii. 19. Thus (1), (2), (3) relate to divination, (4), (5) to magic, (6), (7), (8) to mediumistic spiritualism.

A somewhat similar list of names can be collected from Babylonian literature (Jastrow, *Bab.-Assyrian Religion*, p. 657). The first two laws of the Code of Hammurabi are concerned with the weaver of spells.

14 f. The contrast of Israel's means of knowing hidden and future things is now enforced.

15. a prophet: i. e. a succession of prophets, as the whole passage implies, who will continue to take the spiritual place of Moses (**like unto me**). The Messianic application of this promise to Christ (Acts iii. 22, vii. 37) is foreign to Deuteronomy.

from the midst of thee, of thy brethren: Israelites, not foreign magicians.

16, 17. See v. 27, 28.

18 that which they have spoken. I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee ; and I will put my words in his mouth, and he shall
 19 speak unto them all that I shall command him. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will
 20 require it of him. But the prophet, which shall speak a word presumptuously in my name, which I have not commanded him to speak, or that shall speak in the
 21 name of other gods, that same prophet shall die. And if thou say in thine heart, How shall we know the word
 22 which the LORD hath not spoken? When a prophet speaketh in the name of the LORD, if the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing which the LORD hath not spoken : the prophet hath spoken it presumptuously, thou shalt not be afraid of him.

19 When the LORD thy God shall cut off the nations,

18. What was said (v. 31) of Moses is here (verses 18–20) generalized and applied to the line of future prophets. The prophet, like the apostle (2 Cor. v. 20), is essentially the ambassador of God.

19. I will require: the 'I' is emphatic in the Hebrew. Yahweh vindicates the prophet's word.

20. presumptuously: in xvii. 12 of sins of omission, as here of commission. Cf. Jer. vi. 13, 14, &c.

22. The test of the prophet of Yahweh is the observed truth of his predictions. If he is supported by events, he is supported by Yahweh ; otherwise he need not be dreaded. This test is explicitly rejected for the prophets of other gods (xiii. 1–5) ; nor is the higher Hebrew prophecy nearly so much *predictive* as *interpretative*.

xix–xxv. The remainder of the Code of Laws admits of no natural division on the basis of its present order. The laws are of a miscellaneous character, and many of them might be grouped, by rearrangement, under the four heads of (a) criminal law, (b) warfare, (c) family and marriage relationships, (d) equity in general. Unlike the two previous sections (xii–xvii. 7, xvii. 8–xviii. 22), most of these laws have no evident relation to the Deuteronomic principle of a single sanctuary, and it is among them chiefly that we may expect the process of expansion of the

whose land the LORD thy God giveth thee, and thou succeedest them, and dwellest in their cities, and in their houses; thou shalt separate three cities for thee in the midst of thy land, which the LORD thy God giveth thee to possess it. Thou shalt prepare thee the way, and divide the borders of thy land, which the LORD thy God causeth thee to inherit, into three parts, that every

original 'Book of the Law' to have operated, as by the incorporation of groups of laws. This expectation is confirmed by such phenomena as the occurrence of parallel laws (xx. 7 and xxiv. 5), the separation of laws relating to the same subject (xxiv. 6 and xxiv. 10-13), and the recurrence of topics already dealt with (xvi. 19 and xxiv. 17), as well as by the strong probability that Josiah's Law-book was considerably shorter even than chaps. xii-xxvi, xxviii (see *Introd.*, p. 11).

xix. 1-13. *The Cities of Refuge.* Three cities shall be set apart in the future territory, to give sanctuary to the manslayer (verses 1-3). They are to be for him only who has killed another without intent, and is exposed to blood-revenge (verses 4-7). If the territory be increased, three more cities may be set apart (verses 8-10). He who has killed another intentionally shall be given over to the avenger of blood (verses 11-13).

For the earlier provision of sanctuary (at the altar) see *Exod.* xxi. 12-14 (cf. 1 *Kings* i. 50, ii. 28), where the manslayer by intent is similarly excluded. The destruction of local sanctuaries contemplated by Deuteronomy made some other provision necessary, since the continued sanctuary of the altar at Jerusalem would not be easily accessible to all. For the parallel provision of P, see *Num.* xxxv. 9-34, the chief differences there being that the man-slayer is tried before the 'congregation' (the post-exilic religious community), and that he may return home free from peril at the death of the high-priest. The actual appointment of these cities is narrated in *Joshua* xx (P): cf. also *Deut.* iv. 41-3, and see on verse 9 below.

1. **succeedest:** 'shalt dispossess' (same word as 'possess' in verse 2).

3. **prepare thee the way:** usually explained of keeping the road in order; but, as *Steuernagel* points out, this would help the pursuer as much as the pursued. *LXX* translates 'explore the way,' and as the Hebrew verb can mean 'pay attention to' (*Judges* xii. 6, *R. V.* 'frame'), we may suppose 'way' refers to the distance to be travelled, which, in each case, is not to be too great.

borders: 'territory.'

4 manslayer may flee thither. And this is the case of the manslayer, which shall flee thither and live: whoso killeth his neighbour unawares, and hated him not in
 5 time past; as when a man goeth into the forest with his neighbour to hew wood, and his hand fetcheth a stroke with the axe to cut down the tree, and the ^ahead slippeth from ^bthe helve, and lighteth upon his neighbour, that he die; he shall flee unto one of these cities and
 6 live: lest the avenger of blood pursue the manslayer, while his heart is hot, and overtake him, because the way is long, and smite him mortally; whereas he was not worthy of death, inasmuch as he hated him not in
 7 time past. Wherefore I command thee, saying, Thou
 8 shalt separate three cities for thee. And if the LORD thy God enlarge thy border, as he hath sworn unto thy fathers, and give thee all the land which he promised to
 9 give unto thy fathers; if thou shalt keep all this commandment to do it, which I command thee this day, to love the LORD thy God, and to walk ever in his ways; then shalt thou add three cities more for thee,

^a Heb. *iron*.

^b Or, *the tree*

manslayer: 'killer,' a quite general term. The 'wild justice' of blood-revenge draws no such distinction of motive as is here (verse 4 f.) stated. It is to be noticed that Hammurabi (§§ 206, 227) allows the plea of inadvertence in criminal cases.

5. the helve: R. V. marg., the tree; the ambiguity lies in the Hebrew word for tree, which means 'wood' also.

6. the avenger of blood: (2 Sam. xiv. 11) i.e. the nearest kinsman of the dead man, whose duty to avenge is not removed by this law, but only restrained by principles of equity. See *Intro.*, p. 24.

the way is long: i.e. to the altar-sanctuary at Jerusalem, if these cities be not also provided (verse 7).

8. enlarge thy border: xii. 20 (note).

9. three cities more: according to iv. 41-3, three cities of refuge east of Jordan have already been appointed by Moses. This verse seems most naturally to refer to three sanctuary-cities

beside these three : that ^ainnocent blood be not shed in ¹⁰
 the midst of thy land, which the LORD thy God giveth
 thee for an inheritance, and so blood be upon thee.
 But if any man hate his neighbour, and lie in wait for ¹¹
 him, and rise up against him, and smite him mortally
 that he die ; and he flee into one of these cities : then the ¹²
 elders of his city shall send and fetch him thence, and
 deliver him into the hand of the avenger of blood, that
 he may die. Thine eye shall not pity him, but thou ¹³
 shalt put away ^bthe innocent blood from Israel, that
 it may go well with thee.

Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark, ¹⁴

^a Or, *the blood of an innocent man* ^b Or, *the blood of the innocent*

(known as existent to the writer) east of Jordan ; but the problem of the literary relation of Num. xxxv. 14 ; Deut. iv. 41-3, xix. 8 f. and Joshua xx is a complicated one. Cf. *Oxf. Hex.*, II. p. 352.

10. innocent blood: which would cry (Gen. iv. 10) for vengeance in its turn, and be 'upon' (2 Sam. xvi. 8) the land and the people. The primitive mind attributes a quasi-automatic power to blood that has been 'poured out.' Innocent blood (xxi. 8, xxvii. 25) is 'put away' only by the death of its shedder (verse 13). See *Intro.*, p. 24.

11 f. A necessary safeguard is provided against the abuse of the above right of sanctuary. The decision as to its legitimacy rests with the elders of the city (xxi. 2-4, 6, 19, xxii. 15-18, xxv. 7-9 : cf. note on xvi. 18), to which the killer belonged, who would have to decide on the forthcoming evidence as to motive (according to Joshua xx. 4, the elders of the city of refuge had to decide on the man's original admission). The execution of the death sentence still remains with the kinsman of the slain—the only case in which the death-penalty is not executed by the community (*E.B.* 2718).

xix. 14. *Landmarks not to be removed.*

remove: Hebrew 'set back' (xxvii. 17 ; Prov. xxii. 28, xxiii. 10 ; Job xxiv. 2 ; Hos. v. 10). Many nations have put their private boundary marks under religious sanctions. For the Roman god Terminus, see Merivale, *Romans under the Empire*, iv. p. 77. Babylonian private boundary-stones bear dedications to gods (Cook, *Laws of Moses*, p. 183) : on the sacred character of such stones, see Clay Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant*, p. 166 f.

which they of old time have set, in thine inheritance which thou shalt inherit, in the land that the LORD thy God giveth thee to possess it.

- 15 One witness shall not rise up against a man for any iniquity, or for any sin, in any sin that he sinneth: at the mouth of two witnesses, or at the mouth of three witnesses,
 16 shall a matter be established. If an unrighteous witness rise up against any man to testify against him of ^a wrong
 17 doing; then both the men, between whom the controversy is, shall stand before the LORD, before the priests and the
 18 judges which shall be in those days; and the judges shall make diligent inquisition: and, behold, if the witness be
 19 a false witness, and hath testified falsely against his brother; then shall ye do unto him, as he had thought
 20 to do unto his brother: so shalt thou put away the evil from the midst of thee. And those which remain shall hear, and fear, and shall henceforth commit no more any

^a Or, *rebellion* See ch. xiii. 5.

Hosea is the only previous writer to refer to their removal. 'The numerous references to the offence in the later writings stand out in striking contrast to the silence of the Book of the Covenant' (Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 195).

landmark: 'boundary,' perhaps a line of stones.

xix. 15-21. *Law of Witness.* At least two witnesses shall be required for conviction (verse 15). False witness shall be punished by rigorous infliction on the perjurer of the penalty he sought to bring on another (verses 16-21).

15. Cf. xvii. 6; Num. xxxv. 30 (both with special reference to a death-penalty).

16. **an unrighteous witness:** Heb. 'a witness of violence' (Exod. xxiii. 1).

17. The case is referred to the court at Jerusalem (xvii. 9) as 'before Yahweh' (cf. xii. 7) implies.

19. **as he had thought:** rather 'purposed.' Somewhat similar laws are found in the Code of Hammurabi: § 4. 'If as witness to corn or money he has lied, he shall himself bear the sentence of that case' (cf. § 3).

such evil in the midst of thee. And thine eye shall not ²¹ pity; life *shall go* for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot.

When thou goest forth to battle against thine enemies, ²⁰ and seest horses, and chariots, *and* a people more than thou, thou shalt not be afraid of them: for the LORD thy God is with thee, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt. And it shall be, when ye draw nigh unto the battle, ² that the priest shall approach and speak unto the people,

21. The *ius talionis* is quoted as the principle of the treatment of the false witness. Cf. Exod. xxi. 24 (JE); Lev. xxiv. 18, 20 (H). For its thorough-going application in the Code of Hammurabi, see Cook (*op. cit.*, p. 249).

xx. 1-20. *Laws of Warfare.* Since Yahweh is with Israel there shall be no fear in facing a more numerous foe (verse 1). Before a battle, the priest shall exhort Israel to this effect (verses 2-4), and the officers shall proclaim that whoever has built a house, planted a vineyard, or betrothed a wife, without opportunity for their enjoyment, shall return home (verses 5-7); also, that those who are afraid shall return (verse 8). Leaders shall then be appointed (verse 9).

The city to be attacked shall be allowed, if it surrenders at the outset, to become subject to Israel (verses 10, 11); otherwise its males shall be killed and all else be Israel's spoil (verses 12-15). This does not apply to the Canaanite cities, whose inhabitants and contents must be 'devoted' to Yahweh (verses 16-18).

In besieging a city, its fruit-trees shall not be destroyed (verses 19, 20).

The original place of this chapter may have been after xxi. 9, as it interrupts the subject of chap. xix, and xxi. 1-9, and its own subject is continued in xxi. 10. No parallels to these laws are found in the other O. T. codes; their aim (characteristic of Deuteronomy) is to introduce certain principles of humanity into warfare. (The student should note Schwally's monograph on the subject of this chapter, *Semitische Kriegsaltertümer*, I).

1. horses and chariots: always a source of alarm to Israel (Joshua xvii. 16; Judges i. 19).

2. the priest: his presence being explained by the ancient conception of warfare as a sacred act and the camp as a sacred place (xxiii. 9 f.). 'The camp, the cradle of the nation, was also the oldest sanctuary. There was Israel and there was Yahweh' (Wellhausen, *Israel. und Jüd. Geschichte*, p. 26). See on verse 17,

- 3 and shall say unto them, Hear, O Israel, ye draw nigh this day unto battle against your enemies: let not your heart faint; fear not, nor tremble, neither be ye affrighted
 4 at them; for the LORD your God is he that goeth with you, to fight for you against your enemies, to save you.
 5 And the officers shall speak unto the people, saying, What man is there that hath built a new house, and hath not dedicated it? let him go and return to his house, lest
 6 he die in the battle, and another man dedicate it. And what man is there that hath planted a vineyard, and hath not ^aused the fruit thereof? let him go and return unto his house, lest he die in the battle, and another man
 7 use the fruit thereof. And what man is there that hath betrothed a wife, and hath not taken her? let him go and

^a See ch. xxviii. 30, and Lev. xix. 23-25.

xxiii. 9 f., and note the presence of the ark (1 Sam. iv. 3 f., xiv. 18; 2 Sam. xi. 11) on the battlefield.

4. Bertholet well points out that in the faith of these verses King Josiah marched against Pharaoh-necoh at Megiddo (2 Kings xxiii. 29).

5. the officers: i. 15, cf. xvi. 18; here possibly those subordinates who kept the lists of warriors.

dedicated it: the spirits of the soil are still propitiated by a blood-offering on the occasion of a new building (Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i. p. 136; *Rel. Sem.*, p. 133 f.: and for Syria, Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion*, p. 225). On the ground of such customs amongst many peoples, Schwally (*op. cit.*, p. 91 f.) explains this law as an exclusion from the (sacred) army of those who are likely to 'die in the battle' because of neglected rites and unappeased demons. He cites an interesting parallel from the *Iliad* (II. 698 f.): Protesilaus, having left his home half-finished, is slain by a Trojan as he leaps ashore from the ship.

6. used the fruit thereof: Heb. 'make profane' by common use that which was previously sacred. According to Lev. xix. 23-5, new fruit-trees must be left for three years (to the spirits of the soil?), given to Yahweh in the fourth, and actually eaten by the owner in the fifth year only. For a warrior to forsake or interrupt the ceremonies of propitiation in connexion with the vineyard is to imperil his life (Schwally, *op. cit.*, p. 89).

7. betrothed: Heb. 'paid the bride-price for' (2 Sam. iii. 14).

return unto his house, lest he die in the battle, and another man take her. And the officers shall speak 8 further unto the people, and they shall say, What man is there that is fearful and fainthearted? let him go and return unto his house, lest his brethren's heart melt as his heart. And it shall be, when the officers have made an 9 end of speaking unto the people, that they shall appoint captains of hosts at the head of the people.

When thou drawest nigh unto a city to fight against it, 10 then proclaim peace unto it. And it shall be, if it make 11 thee answer of peace, and open unto thee, then it shall be, that all the people that is found therein shall become a tributary unto thee, and shall serve thee. And if it will 12 make no peace with thee, but will make war against thee, then thou shalt besiege it: and when the LORD thy God 13 delivereth it into thine hand, thou shalt smite every male thereof with the edge of the sword: but the women, and 14 the little ones, and the cattle, and all that is in the city, even all the spoil thereof, shalt thou take for a prey unto thyself; and thou shalt eat the spoil of thine enemies,

* Or, *subject to taskwork*

The most natural explanation of this law is that it seeks to ensure posterity before the perils of battle. According to xxiv. 5 the newly-married warrior is released from service for a year.

8. fearful: cf. Judges vii. 3. Schwally (*op. cit.*, p. 97) refers to the physical tests of courage applied amongst some primitive peoples, failure to meet which will exclude from war.

9. captains of hosts: the leaders of divisions can only be appointed when the army is purged of the unfit; 'they' will refer not to the (subordinate) officers, but is used loosely of those to whom this appointment belonged. Driver compares 1 Macc. iii. 55, 56.

11. tributary: Hebrew as in R. V. marg.: see note on Joshua xvi. 10.

13 f. The *herem* or ban (verse 17) to be applied to cities outside Canaan in a partial form (males only); but in its severest form to the Canaanite cities (verse 17).

- 15 which the LORD thy God hath given thee. Thus shalt thou do unto all the cities which are very far off from thee, which are not of the cities of these nations. But of the cities of these peoples, which the LORD thy God giveth thee for an inheritance, thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth: but thou shalt utterly destroy them; the Hittite, and the Amorite, the Canaanite, and

* Heb. *devote*.

16. nothing that breatheth: cf. Joshua xi. 14, where the phrase refers to human beings as contrasted with animals, as is its usual meaning (though 'breath' may be used of animals, as well as man, Gen. vii. 22).

17. utterly destroy: (vii. 2) 'ban' or 'devote,' i.e. put under the *herem*. The same word, with the same meaning, occurs in the inscription of Mesha (Moabite Stone), where Mesha says that, having captured Nebo from Israel, he slew the whole of its 7,000 inhabitants and dragged the vessels of Yahweh before his god Kemosh, because he had 'devoted' it to Ashtar-Kemosh (lines 16, 17). The root meaning of *herem*, variously applied in the different Semitic languages, denotes that which is inviolable or sacred, e.g. to the deity (xiii. 17, R. V. marg.; see previous verse for the *herem*). The *herem* is, however, neither a sacrifice nor a present to the deity in the ordinary sense, but a taboo, the primitive method of alienating anything from ordinary use. The act of destruction naturally ensures the complete observance of the taboo. The motive that might lead to it in the special case of the *herem* taboo is illustrated by Num. xxi. 2, where the *herem* is a bargain made to obtain the help of Yahweh. Examples of the *herem* will be found in 1 Sam. xv. 3 (Amalek to be slain, 'both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass') and Joshua vi. 17 f. (Jericho; where men and things are 'devoted,' apart from the exceptions there noted, verses 24, 25, whilst the theft and punishment of Achan, chap. vii, vividly illustrate the nature of the *herem*), and the idea doubtless underlies other passages where the actual term does not occur (1 Sam. xxii. 11 f.; 2 Kings xv. 16; 2 Chron. xxv. 12 f.). The Israelite idolater is to be 'devoted' (Exod. xxii. 20), as well as the idolater of Canaan. The Deuteronomic references (e.g. verse 18) give the *herem* a utilitarian interpretation; it will save Israel from the perils of a heathen environment. Parallels amongst other peoples to the general conception, with fuller information, will be found in Schwally's discussion (*op. cit.*, pp. 29-44), or the article 'Ban' in *E.B.*

the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite ; as the LORD thy God hath commanded thee : that they teach you not to 18 do after all their abominations, which they have done unto their gods ; so should ye sin against the LORD your God.

When thou shalt besiege a city a long time, in making 19 war against it to take it, thou shalt not destroy the trees thereof by wielding an axe against them ; for thou mayest eat of them, and thou shalt not cut them down ; for is the tree of the field man, that it should be besieged of thee ? Only the trees which thou knowest that they be 20 not trees for meat, thou shalt destroy and cut them down and thou shalt build bulwarks against the city that maketh war with thee, until it fall.

If one be found slain in the land which the LORD thy 21

the Hittite, &c. : see on vii. 1, where the Gergashite is added to complete the full list of seven.

commanded thee : vii. 2 ; Exod. xxiii. 31-33.

19. For the destruction of trees, as one of the operations of warfare, see 2 Kings iii. 19, 25. Mohammed, for example, brought pressure to bear on the Banu Madir by the destruction of their (special) date-trees. The Kur'an (LIX) is made to justify this breach of Kur'anic law (cf. Margoliouth, *Mohammed*, p. 317). Tiglath-Pileser III exults in the same act (*E.B.*, 4512). For private property in trees, see the Code of Hammurabi, § 59.

is the tree of the field man ? a slight change in the Hebrew pointing gives this sense, which is that of the versions. The reason for the prohibition is Deuteronomic ; but more primitive ideas of the spirits dwelling in trees (*Rel. Sem.*, p. 133) first secured the preservation of their abodes. The date-tree was worshipped by the tribe Khozaa (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i. p. 299 ; quoted by Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization*, p. 305).

20. **trees for meat :** i. e. fruit-trees (Heb., trees of food).

build bulwarks : or siege-works, of the wood of the other trees cut down : cf. Jer. vi. 6. Assyrian siege-operations are represented pictorially in *E.B.* s. v. 'Siege.'

xxi. 1-9. *Expiation of murder by some person unknown.* If a murdered man be found, the murderer being unknown, the authorities of the nearest city shall be responsible for the removal of the peril of shed blood (verses 1, 2). This removal they shall

God giveth thee to possess it, lying in the field, and it be
 2 not known who hath smitten him : then thy elders and
 thy judges shall come forth, and they shall measure unto
 3 the cities which are round about him that is slain : and it
 shall be, that the city which is nearest unto the slain
 man, even the elders of that city shall take an heifer of
 the herd, which hath not been wrought with, and which
 4 hath not drawn in the yoke ; and the elders of that city
 shall bring down the heifer unto a valley with running
 water, which is neither plowed nor sown, and shall break

effect, under the eyes of the priests, by breaking a heifer's neck and making a representative declaration of innocence (verses 3-9).

There is no parallel to this law in the other O. T. codes, but its two underlying ideas, the peril of shed blood (Introd., p. 24) and corporate responsibility, find abundant illustration elsewhere. The latter is also illustrated in the Code of Hammurabi (§§ 23, 24). For the present responsibility of Arab sheikhs for their tribesmen, see Doughty, *Arabia Deserta* i, p. 176 ; according to the ancient Arab law, the people of a place in which a slain man was found had to swear that they were not the murderers (W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, p. 263). The last-named writer thinks (MS. note quoted by Driver) that the aim of the present law was to preclude blood-feud ; we may also think, as the above parallels suggest, of the preservation of order in a district. But in any case, there is the underlying idea of shed blood as itself a peril.

1. in the field : i. e. the open country, away from inhabited spots.

2. thy elders : (cf. xix. 11 f.) ; the sheikhs are the natural local authorities, to whom the judges (xvi. 18) are added. The arrival of the priests in verse 5 after the ceremony is begun is peculiar, and the reference to them suggests its own addition by a writer who regarded the act as sacrificial and therefore requiring their presence (so Bertholet and Steuernagel).

3. an heifer of the herd : which, as the sequel shows, is to take the place of the unknown murderer, and therefore must not have been profaned by common use (cf. xv. 19).

drawn in the yoke : the same restriction in the case of the red heifer (Num. xix. 2) also for ceremonial use.

4. a valley with running water : Heb. 'a perennial wady,' i. e. one that has water through the dry season. The wady, like the heifer, must be one not profaned by common use ; it has already a quasi-sacred character as an ever-flowing stream, whose waters will carry away the heifer's blood ; as the wady Kishon was

the heifer's neck there in the valley : and the priests 5
 the sons of Levi shall come near ; for them the LORD
 thy God hath chosen to minister unto him, and to bless
 in the name of the LORD ; and according to their word
 shall every controversy and every stroke be : and all the 6
 elders of that city, who are nearest unto the slain man,
 shall wash their hands over the heifer whose neck was
 broken in the valley : and they shall answer and say, Our 7
 hands have not shed this blood, neither have our eyes
 seen it. Forgive, O LORD, thy people Israel, whom thou 8
 hast redeemed, and suffer not innocent blood *to remain*
 in the midst of thy people Israel. And the blood shall
 be forgiven them. So shalt thou put away the innocent 9

perhaps chosen (Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 89, note 2, cited by Bertholet) to be the place of slaughter of the prophets of Baal (1 Kings xviii. 40). There may also be some connexion with the idea that a corpse defiles water. Thus when a corpse had been carried across the stream at Nebk, the inhabitants found it necessary to cut the throats of a number of sheep over the stream, so that their blood might run into the water, and the disastrous floods of the river-spirit be checked (Curtiss, *op. cit.*, p. 200). The broken neck of the heifer may have been supposed originally to operate on the unknown murderer by symbolic magic.

5. the priests : see on verse 2 ; and for the appended reasons of their appearance, cf. x. 8, xviii. 5 ; xvii. 8 f.

6. wash their hands : as did Pilate (Matt. xxvii. 24 : cf. Pss. xxvi. 6, lxxiii. 13), such acts being for ancient thought more than what we mean by symbolic ; they actually did something to make innocent the person performing them.

8. Forgive : xxxii. 43 (R.V. 'make expiation'). The root meaning of the Hebrew word '*kappēr*' is 'cover' : cf. Gen. xxxii. 20, 'I will appease him (with the present)' ; Heb. 'I will cover his face', so that he may not see the wrong previously done to him. In later usage it is used either of the priest (Lev. iv. 20, 'make atonement'), or of God, who 'covers,' or regards as covered, the wrongdoer (as here) or the wrong (Jer. xviii. 23, 'forgive not their iniquity').

redeemed : by the deliverance from Egypt (vii. 8).

9. thou : emphatic in the Hebrew, as defining Israel's duty in contrast with the previous appeal to Yahweh.

put away : 'exterminate' as in xix. 13 ; note throughout the

blood from the midst of thee, when thou shalt do that which is right in the eyes of the LORD.

10 When thou goest forth to battle against thine enemies,
and the LORD thy God delivereth them into thine hands,
11 and thou carriest them away captive, and seest among the
captives a beautiful woman, and thou hast a desire unto
12 her, and wouldest take her to thee to wife ; then thou
shalt bring her home to thine house ; and she shall shave
13 her head, and pare her nails ; and she shall put the
raiment of her captivity from off her, and shall remain in
thine house, and bewail her father and her mother a full
month : and after that thou shalt go in unto her, and be

idea of the shed blood as forming a physical-psychical peril ;
no idea of moral guilt is involved.

xxi. 10-14. *Marriage with women captured in war.* A female captive must not be made a concubine till the expiration of a month (verses 10-13). She must not subsequently be sold as a slave (verse 14).

10. For the phrases, cf. xx. 1, 13 ; the paragraph belongs to the rules of warfare.

12. **shave her head and pare her nails :** the hair and the nails, from their rapid growth, were regarded by primitive peoples as special seats of vitality. They are cut off here because the defilement either of death or of the woman's heathen environment is supposed to cling to them in particular (*Rel. Sem.*, p. 333 note 5) ; or viewed as part of the mourning customs (Bertholet) in connexion with the kinsmen of the woman, who are assumed to have been slain. For the cutting of the hair in such cases see xiv. 1 ; for this, and the paring of the nails, see Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, i. 388 ; for the removal of the clothes, Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 222. For parallel customs in Arabian mourning, see *Rel. Sem.*, p. 428 ; *Kinship*, p. 178. The Arabian customs (for a widow) seem to point specially to the impurity of previous cohabitation (cf. Wellhausen, *Reste*², p. 171).

13. **the raiment of her captivity :** i. e. the clothes worn when she was taken captive.

a full month : xxxiv. 8 ; Num. xx. 29. Deuteronomy here emphasizes the full discharge of funeral obligations. For Mohammed 'captivity *ipso facto* dissolved marriage ; and the captive wife

her husband, and she shall be thy wife. And it shall be, ¹⁴ if thou have no delight in her, then thou shalt let her go whither she will; but thou shalt not sell her at all for money, thou shalt not deal with her ^a as a slave, because thou hast humbled her.

If a man have two wives, the one beloved, and the ¹⁵ other hated, and they have borne him children, both the beloved and the hated; and if the firstborn son be hers that was hated; then it shall be, in the day that he ¹⁶ causeth his sons to inherit that which he hath, that he may not make the son of the beloved the firstborn ^b before the son of the hated, which is the firstborn: but ¹⁷

^a Or, as a chattel

^b Or, during the life time of

might at once become the concubine of the conqueror' (Margoliouth, *Mohammed*, p. 461).

14. whither she will: Heb. 'according to her soul,' i.e. in freedom as opposed to slavery: cf. Exod. xxi. 8.

deal with her as a slave: 'deal tyrannically with her;,' the same word as in xxiv. 7.

xxi. 15-21. *The rights and duties of sons.* The double portion of the firstborn son is inalienable, though his mother be not the father's favourite wife (verses 15-17). A persistently disobedient son shall be brought by his parents before the elders and stoned to death (verses 18-21).

15. two wives: e. g. Leah and Rachel (Gen. xxix. 30), Hannah and Peninnah (1 Sam. i. 6), both cases illustrating the difficulties connected with the polygamy practised in Israel; the Semitic languages, indeed, have a word in common for the rival wife. The Code of Hammurabi (§§ 144-8) appears to allow a second wife (or concubine) only when the first wife is childless, or has been seized with sickness.

16. in the day, &c.: i. e. when he announces (cf. Gen. xxiv. 36) the division of his property to be made at his death; there were no written wills amongst the Hebrews prior to the Greek and Roman period (Nowack, *Archäologie*, § 64).

before: Heb. 'upon the face of'; in Gen. xi. 28, Num. iii. 4, as in R. V. marg., but R. V. text is here preferable, in sense of 'in preference to' (v. 7; Exod. xx. 3).

he shall acknowledge the firstborn, the son of the hated, by giving him a double portion of all that he hath : for he is the beginning of his strength ; the right of the first-born is his.

18 If a man have a stubborn and rebellious son, which will not obey the voice of his father, or the voice of his mother, and though they chasten him, will not hearken
19 unto them : then shall his father and his mother lay hold on him, and bring him out unto the elders of his city, and
20 unto the gate of his place ; and they shall say unto the elders of his city, This our son is stubborn and rebellious, he will not obey our voice ; he is a riotous liver, and a
21 drunkard. And all the men of his city shall stone him with stones, that he die : so shalt thou put away the evil from the midst of thee ; and all Israel shall hear, and fear.

17. a double portion : i.e. as the Hebrew 'a share of two,' twice as much as any of the other sons : cf. 2 Kings ii. 9 ; Zech. xiii. 8 (the same Heb. phrase).

the right of the firstborn : for the early history of primogeniture, see Maine's *Ancient Law*, chap. vii : it is not recognized in the Code of Hammurabi, which supposes an equal division to take place, apart from special gifts or allowances (§§ 165, 166).

18 f. Through the action of the community the family jurisdiction is maintained (cf. Gen. xxxviii. 24 : *E.B.* 2717) ; laws in Exod. xxi. 15, 17 (Lev. xx. 9) assign death to the son who strikes or curses his parents : cf. v. 16, xxvii. 16. The Code of Hammurabi enacts that 'if a man has struck his father, one shall cut off his hands' (§ 195).

19. unto the gate : xxii. 15, xxv. 7 ; Ruth iv. 1 f. ; on Syrian gateways, as courts of justice, &c., see *D.B.* ii. pp. 110-13 ; Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, p. 27.

20. a riotous liver : or 'glutton' ; Heb. one who makes light of, squanders, used especially of gluttony (Prov. xxiii. 21).

21. Cf. xiii. 10, xvii. 5, xxii. 24. The original absolute power of parents over children (Exod. xxi. 7 ; Gen. xxxi. 14 f.) is here shown in process of limitation ; the community control, while they enforce, the authority of the parents.

And if a man have committed a sin worthy of death, ²² and he be put to death, and thou hang him on a tree ; his body shall not remain all night upon the tree, but ²³ thou shalt surely bury him the same day ; for he that is hanged is ^a accursed of God ; that thou defile not thy land which the LORD thy God giveth thee for an inheritance.

Thou shalt not see thy brother's ox or his sheep go ²² astray, and hide thyself from them : thou shalt surely bring them again unto thy brother. And if thy brother ² be not nigh unto thee, or if thou know him not, then thou shalt bring it home to thine house, and it shall be with thee until thy brother seek after it, and thou shalt restore it to him again. And so shalt thou do with his ass ; and ³ so shalt thou do with his garment ; and so shalt thou do

^a Heb. *the curse of God*.

xxi. 22, 23. *The suspended body to be buried the same day.*

22. he be put to death : i. e. by some method other than by hanging ; the latter was applied to the body already dead (Joshua viii. 29, x. 26 ; 1 Sam. xxxi. 10 ; 2 Sam. iv. 12).

23. accursed of God : (Gal. iii. 13) probably, as Dillmann suggests, because those whose bodies were so treated were 'devoted,' or were criminals of the darkest type ; we must connect with this the primitive conception of the peril to the community of a corpse thus publicly exposed ('that thou defile not thy land').

xxii. 1-12. *Various Laws :* regard for neighbours (verses 1-4) ; distinction of sex (verse 5) ; mother-bird to be spared (verses 6, 7) ; battlements (verses 8, 9) ; mixtures (verses 10, 11) ; tassels (verse 12).

1 f. See Exod. xxiii. 4, 5, where also, in briefer form, it is commanded that the strayed ox or ass be restored and the fallen beast of burden lifted. There, however, these belong to 'thine enemy' ; 'brother' is a wider term, though it makes the law less emphatic. Verses 2, 3 (except the reference to ass) are here added to the earlier form of the law.

hide thyself : Isa. lviii. 7 ; Ps. lv. 1 : cf. Isa. liii. 3 (a different word). Cf. Luke x. 31, 32.

3. According to Lev. vi. 1-7, failure to restore a lost article is

with every lost thing of thy brother's, which he hath lost, and thou hast found : thou mayest not hide thyself.

4 Thou shalt not see thy brother's ass or his ox fallen down by the way, and hide thyself from them : thou shalt surely help him to lift them up again.

5 A woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment : for whosoever doeth these things is an abomination unto the LORD thy God.

6 If a bird's nest chance to be before thee in the way, in any tree or on the ground, with young ones or eggs, and the dam sitting upon the young, or upon the eggs, thou shalt not take the dam with the young : thou shalt in any wise let the dam go, but the young thou mayest take unto thyself ; that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest prolong thy days.

treated as theft and punished with a fine of one-fifth the value. In the Code of Hammurabi, identification by witnesses is required in the case of a lost (stolen) article found in another's hands (§§ 9-13).

xxii. 5. *Sexual Morality.* The sexes must not interchange attire. This law refers to practices, like those in connexion with the worship of Cybele or Aphrodite, in which men acted as women and women as men : see Robertson Smith, *O.T.J.C.*², p. 365.

abomination : vii. 25 : cf. xviii. 12 for a similar religious application of this term.

xxii. 6, 7. *Birds' Nests.* The mother-bird is not to be taken with her eggs or young from a nest found by chance. The law may here illustrate the 'kindness to animals' of Deuteronomy (as in xxv. 4 and xxii. 1-4), but probably goes back to some earlier conception such as the 'right of user' suggested by Fenton (quoted by Driver); the bird is common property, its produce alone belongs to the person finding it.

that it may be well with thee, &c. : cf. v. 16 ; the same promise is attached to sparing the mother-bird as to honouring parents.

When thou buildest a new house, then thou shalt make 8
a battlement for thy roof, that thou bring not blood upon
thine house, if any man fall from thence. Thou shalt not 9
sow thy vineyard with two kinds of seed: lest the ^awhole
fruit be ^bforfeited, the seed which thou hast sown, and
the increase of the vineyard.

Thou shalt not plow with an ox and an ass together. 10

^a Heb. *fulness*.

^b Heb. *consecrated*.

xxii. 8. *Parapets to House-roofs*. The nearest parallel is that of Exod. xxi. 33, 34, which makes a man who has left a pit uncovered responsible for the loss of an ox or ass falling into it. A group of laws in the Code of Hammurabi affirming the responsibility of builders for accidents comes nearer to the present injunction (§§ 229-33).

a battlement for thy roof: see on Joshua ii. 6.

blood upon thine house: cf. xix. 10, xxi. 8. Primitive thought extends the idea of 'guilt' not only to animals (Exod. xxi. 28 f.), but also to inanimate objects (Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, ii. p. 294).

xxii. 9-11. *Mixtures (of seed, ploughing animals, and stuff) forbidden*. For the first and last see Lev. xix. 19; the second and the reason for the first are here only. The origin of these laws is obscure: see Introd., p. 27.

9. vineyard: Lev. xix. 19, 'field,' an extension of the present law. Vines are planted far enough apart for the plough to pass between (*D.B.* iv. 868), so that there would be room for the sowing of a different crop.

two kinds of seed: 'the modern Palestinian custom which compels a man to sow on his strips of land the same seed as the rest, in order that all may harvest at the same time, suggests an explanation' (Cook, *The Laws of Moses*, p. 195). This utilitarian explanation, however, belongs to a later age; some practice in connexion with heathen cults is more likely to be involved; e.g. the symbolical representation of the union of deities (Steuernagel).

be forfeited: R. V. marg. 'consecrated,' i. e. to the sanctuary (Joshua vi. 19). The man will lose both his grapes and his other crop as a penalty for his irreligious act.

10. Cf. Lev. xix. 19, 'Thou shalt not make thy cattle breed in two kinds,' which may state more directly the general purpose of the present law. 'Mules, however, were used in David's time and later (2 Sam. xviii. 9; 1 Kings i. 33, xviii. 5)' (*S.B.O.T.*, Lev., p. 89). An ox and an ass yoked together may still be found in Palestine.

11 Thou shalt not wear a mingled stuff, wool and linen together.

12 Thou shalt make thee ^a fringes upon the four borders of thy vesture, wherewith thou coverest thyself.

13 If any man take a wife, and go in unto her, and hate
14 her, and lay shameful things to her charge, and bring up an evil name upon her, and say, I took this woman, and when I came nigh to her, I found not in her the tokens
15 of virginity: then shall the father of the damsel, and her

^a Or, *twisted threads*

11. Nothing is known of the practice aimed at, though the context (verses 5, 13 f.) suggests some sexual reference; perhaps the union of male and female deities was tacitly recognized by this (Egyptian?) cloth.

xxii. 12. *Memorial tassels to be worn.* Cf. Num. xv. 37-41, where the reason for wearing these is given (cf. vi. 8, xi. 18).

fringes: (R. V. marg. to be read) 'twisted cords' called 'Zizith' or tassels in Num. xv. 38 (*D. B.* i. p. 627). *Introd.*, p. 49.

vesture: the outer garment made of a square piece of cloth, used also to sleep in (*Exod.* xxii. 26).

xxii. 13-30. *Sexual Relations.* If a man questions the previous virginity of his newly married wife, her parents shall bring the circumstantial proof to the elders, and the man shall be fined and lose the right of divorce. If the proof is not forthcoming, the woman shall be stoned to death (verses 13-21). Adultery shall be punished by the death of both persons (verse 22). The same penalty applies in the case of the seduction of a betrothed woman, taking place in the city; in the country, the woman shall be presumed innocent, and the man only shall die (verses 23-7). In the case of an unbetrothed woman, the man seducing her shall marry her without right of divorce, paying the bride-price to her father (verses 28, 29). An inheriting son shall not marry his father's wife (verse 30).

14. **the tokens of virginity:** see the (Latin) Appendix of Trumbull's *The Threshold Covenant*, pp. 243-52. Parallels amongst other peoples are cited by Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, pp. 123, 124. Physiologically, the evidence is by no means conclusive; it is still, however, regarded as essential in Egypt and Palestine, as elsewhere also.

mother, take and bring forth the tokens of the damsel's virginity unto the elders of the city in the gate: and the 16 damsel's father shall say unto the elders, I gave my daughter unto this man to wife, and he hateth her; and, 17 lo, he hath laid shameful things *to her charge*, saying, I found not in thy daughter the tokens of virginity; and yet these are the tokens of my daughter's virginity. And they shall spread the garment before the elders of the city. And the elders of that city shall take the man and 18 chastise him; and they shall amerce him in an hundred 19 *shekels* of silver, and give them unto the father of the damsel, because he hath brought up an evil name upon a virgin of Israel: and she shall be his wife; he may not put her away all his days. But if this thing be true, that 20 the tokens of virginity were not found in the damsel: then 21 they shall bring out the damsel to the door of her father's house, and the men of her city shall stone her with stones that she die: because she hath wrought folly in Israel, to play the harlot in her father's house: so shalt thou put away the evil from the midst of thee.

If a man be found lying with a woman married to an 22

17. the garment: i. e. *camisia sponsae sanguine inquinata*, quae ut testimonium virginitatis custodiri consuevit.

18. chastise him: probably corporal punishment is intended (cf. xxv. 3), as is understood by Josephus, *Antiq.* iv. 8. 23.

19. amerce: i. e. 'fine,' the fine being twice that for the seduction of a virgin (verse 29), and paid to the father as defamed by the false report. Its nominal (100 silver shekels at 2s. 9d.) equivalent is a little less than £14.

20. If the physical evidence be not forthcoming, the charge is regarded as proved, and the woman accordingly punished.

21. The place of the punishment is that of the sin; the father, moreover, was responsible for his daughter.

stone her: see on xiii. 10, and cf. xxi. 21.

folly in Israel: rather 'senselessness': cf. Joshua vii. 15 (Achan); usually, as here, of acts of immorality (Gen. xxxiv. 7).

22. For other laws relating to adultery, see v. 18; Lev. xviii.

husband, then they shall both of them die, the man that lay with the woman, and the woman : so shalt thou put away the evil from Israel.

- 23 If there be a damsel that is a virgin betrothed unto an husband, and a man find her in the city, and lie with her ;
 24 then ye shall bring them both out unto the gate of that city, and ye shall stone them with stones that they die ; the damsel, because she cried not, being in the city ; and the man, because he hath humbled his neighbour's wife : so thou shalt put away the evil from the midst of thee.
 25 But if the man find the damsel that is betrothed in the field, and the man force her, and lie with her ; then the
 26 man only that lay with her shall die : but unto the damsel thou shalt do nothing ; there is in the damsel no sin worthy of death : for as when a man riseth against his
 27 neighbour, and slayeth him, even so is this matter : for

20, xx. 10. The punishment was assumed to be that of verse 24, i. e. death by stoning (Ezek. xvi. 40 ; John viii. 5). The parallel law in the Code of Hammurabi reads, 'If the wife of a man has been caught in lying with another male, one shall bind them and throw them into the waters. If the owner of the wife would save his wife, or the king would save his servant (he may)' (§ 129).

xxii. 23 f. The parallel law in the Code of Hammurabi is, 'If a man has forced the wife of a man who has not known the male, and is dwelling in the house of her father, and has lain in her bosom, and one has caught him, that man shall be killed, the woman herself shall go free' (§ 130).

23. betrothed : see on xx. 7 ; the bride-price having been paid, she is the property of her husband, and the case becomes one of adultery (cf. 'his neighbour's wife').

in the city : where, presumably, the woman might have been rescued had she appealed for help ('because she cried not').

25. in the field : here the woman's innocence is presumed, for the reason given in verse 27.

force her : rather, 'take hold of her' (2 Sam. xiii. 11).

26. as when a man riseth : i. e. the sudden attack in each case found a defenceless victim.

he found her in the field; the betrothed damsel cried, and there was none to save her.

If a man find a damsel that is a virgin, which is not 28 betrothed, and lay hold on her, and lie with her, and they be found; then the man that lay with her shall give unto 29 the damsel's father fifty *shekels* of silver, and she shall be his wife, because he hath humbled her; he may not put her away all his days.

^a A man shall not take his father's wife, and shall not 30 uncover his father's skirt.

He that is wounded in the stones, or hath his privy 23 member cut off, shall not enter into the assembly of the LORD.

^a [Ch. xxiii. 1 in Heb.]

28, 29. The case of the unbetrothed woman is on a different footing; no marital rights are involved (cf. Exod. xxii. 16, 17). Consequently, the man pays the bride-price (see on verse 19) as in an ordinary marriage, his penalty being the loss of the right of divorce. The price of a slave was thirty shekels (Exod. xxi. 32).

30. Cf. Lev. xviii. 8, xx. 11; a similar prohibition of marriage with a step-mother occurs in the Kur'an (iv. 26), aimed at the inheritance of women in the same way as other property (Robertson Smith, *Kinship*, p. 86).

his father's skirt: xxvii. 20: cf. Ezek. xvi. 8; Ruth iii. 9. A probable parallel to this law (Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 101) occurs in the Code of Hammurabi, § 158: 'If a man, after his father, has been caught in the bosom of his head wife who has borne children, that man shall be cut off from his father's house.' The present law is the first instance of legislation as to forbidden degrees (cf. Lev. xviii and xx).

xxiii. 1-8. *Classes excluded from the assembly of Yahweh:* eunuchs, bastards, Ammonites and Moabites, but not the third generation of an Edomite or Egyptian.

1. The verse refers to two methods of making eunuchs (crushed testicles, abscission of penis). Such mutilations were practised in certain forms of Syrian worship; the prohibition is probably, like that in xiv. 1, directed against association with heathenism.

the assembly of Yahweh: Israel as a religious community (Mic. ii. 5). The conception is developed by priestly writers, though in P 'congregation' (*edah*, Exod. xii. 3, &c.) replaces

- 2 A bastard shall not enter into the assembly of the LORD; even to the tenth generation shall none of his enter into the assembly of the LORD.
- 3 An Ammonite or a Moabite shall not enter into the assembly of the LORD; even to the tenth generation shall none belonging to them enter into the assembly of the LORD for ever: because they met you not with bread and with water in the way, when ye came forth out of Egypt; and because they hired against thee Balaam the son of Beor from Pethor of ^a Mesopotamia, to curse thee.
- 5 Nevertheless the LORD thy God would not hearken unto Balaam; but the LORD thy God turned the curse into a blessing unto thee, because the LORD thy God loved thee.
- 6 Thou shalt not seek their peace nor their prosperity all thy days for ever.
- 7 Thou shalt not abhor an Edomite; for he is thy

^a Heb. *Aram-naharaim*.

'assembly' (*kāhāl*). A place in this community is extended even to the eunuch in Isa. lvi. 4 f.

2. **a bastard**: possibly 'child of incest' (cf. xxii. 30), unclean by origin.

to the tenth generation: i. e. never (verse 3 end).

3. **Ammonite, Moabite**: excluded by the previous verse, according to Gen. xix. 30 f.

4 f. Their exclusion is grounded on history, possibly by a later addition.

they met you not, &c. : contrast ii. 29, where the Moabites are said to have sold food and water to Israel.

they hired against thee, &c. (Heb. 'he' = king of Moab); this relates to the Moabites only, Num. xxii. 5.

5. **turned the curse into a blessing**: Num. xxiii. 11, 25, xxiv. 10.

6. A characteristic limitation of Deuteronomic humanitarianism. For the expressions see Jer. xxix. 7; Ezra ix. 12. This paragraph is quoted and acted upon in Neh. xiii. 1-3. It reflects the historical hostility between the two peoples and Israel (e. g. Amos i. 13; Zeph. ii. 8; Isa. xvi. 6).

7. **an Edomite**: 'thy brother.' as descended from Esau: cf. ii. 4-8.

brother: thou shalt not abhor an Egyptian; because thou wast a stranger in his land. The children of the 8 third generation that are born unto them shall enter into the assembly of the LORD.

When thou goest forth in camp against thine enemies, 9 then thou shalt keep thee from every evil thing. If there 10 be among you any man, that is not clean by reason of that which chanceth him by night, then shall he go abroad out of the camp, he shall not come within the camp: but 11 it shall be, when evening cometh on, he shall bathe himself in water: and when the sun is down, he shall come within the camp. Thou shalt have a place also 12 without the camp, whither thou shalt go forth abroad: and thou shalt have a ^a paddle among thy weapons; and 13

^a Or, shovel

an Egyptian: the motive for friendliness towards him is elsewhere (v. 15, xv. 15, xvi. 12, xxiv. 18, 22) used to arouse sympathy with the slave and dependant.

8. The verse refers to the descendants of those Edomites or Egyptians who have settled in Palestine and affiliated themselves to Israel.

xxiii. 9-14. *The holiness of the camp (nocturnal pollutions, excrement).* This law belongs to the rules of warfare in chap. xx and xxi. 10-14. A wider statement of that which defiles the camp is given by P (Num. v. 1-4). A military expedition is sacred to the war-god, on whose presence it depends for success (see on xx. 2).

10. See Lev. xv. 16; all that relates to sexual life is a peril, and the taboo it imposes is rigorously respected by primitive peoples. For the sexual taboo in general during war, see 1 Sam. xxi. 4-6; 2 Sam. xi. 11. Schwally (*op. cit.*, p. 60 f.) gives some of the parallels from other peoples: cf. also Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, i. 327 f. and the note, p. 328. See on xx. 5 f.

11. when evening cometh on: and a new day begins (at sunset) in which the polluted man may, after ablution, return to the camp.

13. a paddle: or 'digging-stick'; the word occurs elsewhere as 'peg' (tent-peg, Judges v. 26) or 'loom-stick' (Judges xvi. 14).

it shall be, when thou sittest down abroad, thou shalt dig therewith, and shalt turn back and cover that which
 14 cometh from thee: for the LORD thy God walketh in the midst of thy camp, to deliver thee, and to give up thine enemies before thee; therefore shall thy camp be holy: that he see no ^aunclean thing in thee, and turn away from thee.

15 Thou shalt not deliver unto his master a servant which
 16 is escaped from his master unto thee: he shall dwell with thee, in the midst of thee, in the place which he shall choose within one of thy gates, where it liketh him best: thou shalt not oppress him.

17 There shall be no ^bharlot of the daughters of Israel,

^a Heb. *nakedness of any thing*.

^b Heb. *kedeshah*. See Gen. xxxviii. 21.

The excrement is not covered for any sanitary reason or motive of propriety; for primitive peoples it is a means by which magic can be worked, and therefore to be prevented from falling into an enemy's hands. For this peril, and that of demonic influence at the time of excretion, see Schwally (*op. cit.*, p. 67).

14. The original grounds of the custom are replaced by one more suitable to a worshipper of Yahweh; Yahweh Himself (cf. Gen. iii. 8) is in the camp (xx. 1), which must be kept 'holy.'

xxiii. 15, 16. *Asylum in Israel for escaped slaves*. This stands in marked contrast with the severe enactments of the Code of Hammurabi concerning runaway slaves (§§ 15-20), from Babylonian territory; the law of Deuteronomy apparently relates to foreign slaves only.

16. *within one of thy gates*: i. e. a city of Israel, implying that he is a foreign slave. Contrast the extradition rights allowed by Gath, 1 Kings ii. 39, 40.

thou shalt not oppress him: so, of the *gêr* or protected stranger (Exod. xxii. 21), whose presence in Israel would sometimes be explainable in this way (escape from slavery).

xxiii. 17, 18. *Religious prostitution forbidden*. For a classical example of the custom referred to see Herodotus I. 199 (at the temple of Aphrodite among the Babylonians). Cf. 1 Kings xiv. 24 and R. V. marg.

17. *harlot . . . Sodomite*: the Hebrew is simply a 'sacred'

neither shall there be a ^a sodomite of the sons of Israel. Thou shalt not bring the hire of a whore, or the wages of ¹⁸ a dog, into the house of the LORD thy God for any vow : for even both these are an abomination unto the LORD thy God.

Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother ; usury ¹⁹ of money, usury of victuals, usury of any thing that is lent upon usury : unto a foreigner thou mayest lend upon ²⁰ usury ; but unto thy brother thou shalt not lend upon usury : that the LORD thy God may bless thee in all that thou puttest thine hand unto, in the land whither thou goest in to possess it

^a Heb. *kadesh*.

person (male and female), with reference to immorality practised in the service of a deity.

18. dog: the term used in a Cyprian inscription (temple of Ashtoreth) apparently to denote male prostitutes of the above class (cf. Rev. xxii. 15). Cf. *Rel. Sem.*, p. 292.

for any vow: i. e. fulfilling a pledge given to the deity. In the narrative of Herodotus, the silver coin earned is 'sacred' to Aphrodite, the woman 'having acquitted herself of her duty to the goddess.'

abomination: vii. 25, xii. 31, &c. The reference is probably to the earnings, to say nothing of the earners.

xxiii. 19, 20. *Interest on loans allowed from foreigners only.* Parallels in Exod. xxii. 25 (JE), Lev. xxv. 36, 37 (H) : cf. Ps. xv. 5.

19. lend upon usury: Heb. 'exact interest,' moderate or excessive. The English 'usury' is misleading to the modern reader, who forgets that this term originally meant, and means here, simply 'interest.'

20. The Bedouins of to-day take no interest on loans (Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i. 318 ; cited by Cook, *Laws of Moses*, p. 233). This is in accordance with those simpler conditions of life in which the loan is meant to relieve poverty, &c., not to be a business investment ; for the more complex social conditions of Babylonia, with its development of trade and commerce, see the Code of Hammurabi, §§ 49, 50, 100, according to which interest is ordinarily given. In a year of disaster, however, the interest on a debt is cancelled (§ 48).

- 21 When thou shalt vow a vow unto the LORD thy God, thou shalt not be slack to pay it: for the LORD thy God will surely require it of thee; and it would be sin in thee.
- 22 But if thou shalt forbear to vow, it shall be no sin in thee.
- 23 That which is gone out of thy lips thou shalt observe and do; according as thou hast vowed unto the LORD thy God, a freewill offering, which thou hast promised with thy mouth.
- 24 When thou comest into thy neighbour's vineyard, then thou mayest eat grapes thy fill at thine own pleasure; but thou shalt not put any in thy vessel.
- 25 When thou comest into thy neighbour's standing corn, then thou mayest pluck the ears with thine hand; but thou shalt not move a sickle unto thy neighbour's standing corn.
- 24 When a man taketh a wife, and marrieth her, then it

xxiii. 21-3. *Vows.* The subject is developed by P in Num. xxx (cf. verse 2) and in later Jewish casuistry. Well-known vows of the O. T. are those of Jacob (Gen. xxviii. 20), Jephthah (Judges xi. 30), Hannah (1 Sam. i. 11).

21. not be slack: 'delay not': cf. Eccles. v. 4, 5.

23. a freewill offering: 'freely' (as in Hos. xiv. 4). These vows are to be paid at Jerusalem (xii. 6, &c.).

xxiii. 24, 25. Hunger, not greed, may be satisfied in a neighbour's vineyard or cornfield.

24. vessel: the bag or wallet of the traveller (Gen. xliii. 11; 1 Sam. ix. 7) or shepherd (1 Sam. xvii. 40).

25. Cf. Matt. xii. 1 f.; Mark ii. 23 f.; Luke vi. 1 f.

xxiv. 1-4. *Divorce.* A divorced woman, whose second husband has also divorced her, or is dead, may not be remarried to the first.

This, and the other references to divorce (xxii. 19, 29; Lev. xxi. 7, 14, xxii. 13; Num. xxx. 9), in Hebrew law, take the custom for granted, and do not directly establish it, but deal with its relation to various contingencies. The laws of divorce in the Code of Hammurabi (§§ 137-43) are chiefly concerned with its financial aspect, and guard the woman's right to the return of her dowry or other compensation, when she has not been to blame. In the O. T. no right of divorce is supposed to belong to the

shall be, if she find no favour in his eyes, because he hath found some unseemly thing in her, that he shall write her a bill of divorcement, and give it in her hand, and send her out of his house. And when she is ² departed out of his house, she may go and be another man's *wife*. And if the latter husband hate her, and ³ write her a bill of divorcement, and give it in her hand, and send her out of his house; or if the latter husband die, which took her to be his wife; her former husband, ⁴ which sent her away, may not take her again to be his wife, after that she is defiled; for that is abomination before the LORD: and thou shalt not cause the land to sin, which the LORD thy God giveth thee for an inheritance.

When a man taketh a new wife, he shall not go out in ⁵

woman. Divorces were evidently very frequent in Babylonia and Israel (Mal. ii. 13-16). For a review of Semitic marriage-law, see Cook, *The Laws of Moses*, chaps. iv, v; cf. 2 Sam. iii. 14 f.; Hos. ii, &c.

1. The apodosis is verse 4 (*then* her former husband, &c.), the previous three verses are governed by 'if' or 'when,' and should be so translated (read '*and* it shall be' (verse 1), ... '*and* she may go' (verse 2), with necessary re-punctuation).

some unseemly thing: Hebrew as in xxiii. 14 (R. V. marg.); interpreted by the school of Shammai of unchastity, and by the school of Hillel of any ground of dislike. 'It is most natural to understand it of *immodest* or *indecent behaviour*' (Driver, p. 271). Cf. Matt. v. 31, 32, xix. 7; Mark x. 4.

a bill of divorcement ('a writing of separation'): Isa. l. 1; Jer. iii. 8 (the latter expressly referring to this law). The divorce is formally and unmistakably made. Compare the Code of Hammurabi (§ 141); the divorce is not valid without the legal form. Here three formalities are required—(a) the deed, (b) its service, (c) dismissal of wife.

4. **defiled:** i. e. through cohabitation with another man (cf. Matt. v. 32), which, in the light of a remarriage, might be regarded as adultery (Lev. xviii. 20; Num. v. 13, 14, 20).

cause the land to sin: i. e. by a 'defilement' which exposes land and people to the wrath of Yahweh (Isa. xxiv. 5), and makes it an 'abomination' (vii. 25, &c.) to Him.

the host, neither shall he be charged with any business : he shall be free at home one year, and shall cheer his wife which he hath taken. No man shall take the mill or the upper millstone to pledge : for he taketh *a man's* life to pledge.

7 If a man be found stealing any of his brethren of the children of Israel, and he deal with him ^aas a slave, or sell him ; then that thief shall die : so shalt thou put away the evil from the midst of thee.

8 Take heed in the plague of leprosy, that thou observe diligently, and do according to all that the priests the Levites shall teach you : as I commanded them, so ye

^a Or, *as a chattel*

5. *Exemption* from military or other duties for one year after marriage (cf. xx. 7).

cheer : Heb. 'make to rejoice,' but we should perhaps read with Vulgate (repointing the Hebrew), 'rejoice (take pleasure) with' (so Bertholet). As stated by Deuteronomy, the law is humanitarian ; but it may rest on older ideas connected with the period of gestation (Schwally, *op. cit.*, 79 f.).

6. The mill not to be taken as *deposit for a loan* (cf. verses 10-13, 17^b), since it is essential to the life of its owner.

mill : consisting of two circular stones, the upper being rotated by hand upon the lower, to grind the corn for each day's needs—to take away the upper stone was to deprive the house of the use of the mill itself, and therefore of its daily supply of bread (Exod. xi. 5 ; Isa. xlvii. 2 ; Jer. xxv. 10 ; Matt. xxiv. 41 ; Rev. xviii. 22). See on verse 10 f. for **pledge**.

7. *Man-stealing* : repeated from Exod. xxi. 16, except that the law is here confined to Israelite victims of tyrannical dealing (on xxi. 14). Cf. the Code of Hammurabi (§ 14), 'If a man has stolen the son of a freeman, he shall be put to death.'

xxiv. 8, 9. The Levitical laws in regard to leprosy are to be rigorously followed. These laws are given in Lev. xiii. 14 f., but their substance may well be pre-Deuteronomic.

8. **the plague of leprosy** : the 'stroke' of this unclean disease (on which see *D.B.*, iii. 95 f.) was regarded as a divine judgement (2 Kings v. 27, xv. 5) of a specially severe character, because the visible personality seemed partially destroyed (Num. xii. 12 : cf. Job ii. 5). Hence, doubtless, its special treatment.

as I commanded them : i. e. Yahweh, like 'me' in vii. 4.

shall observe to do. Remember what the LORD thy God 9 did unto Miriam, by the way as ye came forth out of Egypt.

When thou dost lend thy neighbour any manner of 10 loan, thou shalt not go into his house to fetch his pledge. Thou shalt stand without, and the man to whom thou 11 dost lend shall bring forth the pledge without unto thee. And if he be a poor man, thou shalt not sleep with his 12 pledge: thou shalt surely restore to him the pledge when 13 the sun goeth down, that he may sleep in his garment, and bless thee: and it shall be righteousness unto thee before the LORD thy God.

Thou shalt not oppress an hired servant that is poor 14 and needy, whether he be of thy brethren, or of thy strangers that are in thy land within thy gates: in his day 15

9. Miriam: smitten with leprosy for contempt of Moses (Num. xii. 10), and kept without the camp, at Yahweh's bidding, for seven days.

xxiv. 10-13. *Selection and Retention of Pledges for Loans.* The article deposited with a creditor as security for his loan is to be selected by the borrower; and if it be essential to his life, it shall be speedily returned.

10. Interest, not a pledge, was forbidden in xxiii. 19, 20.

12. The rule becomes practically equivalent to that of verse 6; the essentials of life must not be withheld from those needing them. Similarly of the ox in the Code of Hammurabi (§ 241: cf. Job xxiv. 3).

13. Exod. xxii. 26, 27 (JE). The **garment** (*simláh*), is 'the largest and heaviest article of Oriental dress, being the dress of travel, of the shepherd, worn for protection against cold and rain, and used as a covering during sleep' (*D.B.*, i. 625, where illustrations are given). For the pledging of clothes, cf. Amos ii. 8; Prov. xx. 16; Job xxii. 6).

xxiv. 14, 15. *Treatment of Hired Servants:* they are not to be wronged by the retention of their wages (Lev. xix. 13).

15. in his day: i. e. the day of labour (Job xiv. 6, through which are earned the wages, e. g. the 'penny' of Matt. xx. 2 f. The Code of Hammurabi gives a scale of wages per day for different grades of labour (§§ 273, 274).

thou shalt give him his hire, neither shall the sun go down upon it ; for he is poor, and setteth his heart upon it : lest he cry against thee unto the LORD, and it be sin unto thee.

16 The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, neither shall the children be put to death for the fathers : every man shall be put to death for his own sin.

17 Thou shalt not wrest the judgement of the stranger, *nor* of the fatherless ; nor take the widow's raiment to
18 pledge : but thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in Egypt, and the LORD thy God redeemed thee thence : therefore I command thee to do this thing.

19 When thou reapest thine harvest in thy field, and hast forgot a sheaf in the field, thou shalt not go again to fetch it : it shall be for the stranger, for the fatherless, and for

lest he cry, &c. : contrast verse 13, and cf. xv. 9.

xxiv. 16. *Individual Responsibility.* A fundamental characteristic of ancient ideas of personality is the absence of legal individuality ; ancient thought and law make the family the unit (Joshua vii. 24 ; 2 Kings ix. 26) rather than the individual. For the social solidarity of the family, see v. 9 (cf. Jer. xxxi. 29 ; Ezek. xviii. 2) ; here blood-revenge is specially in view (cf. 2 Kings xiv. 6). The principle of individuality is emphasized by Ezekiel (chap. xviii) ; its full recognition falls largely within the sphere of Christian influences.

xxiv. 17, 18. *Stranger, Orphan, and Widow.* These three dependent classes are grouped together, as in Exod. xxii. 21, 22 and elsewhere ; care for them is characteristic of this book.

17. wrest the judgement : cf. x. 18 and xvi. 19 ; Exod. xxiii. 6.

the widow's raiment : cf. verses 12, 13. The widow's claims are legally recognized in various laws of the Code of Hammurabi (§§ 171, 172, 177) ; it is there also enacted that 'The buyer that has bought a utensil of a widow's sons shall lose his money and shall return the property to its owners.'

18. Cf. xv. 15.

xxiv. 19-22. *Gleanings* to be left for the needy, in field, olive-garden, and vineyard.

19. See Lev. xix. 9, xxiii. 22 (H) ; and for the general practice as to gleaners' privileges, Ruth ii. It is a widespread custom to

the widow : that the LORD thy God may bless thee in all the work of thine hands.

When thou beatest thine olive tree, thou shalt not go 20 over the boughs again : it shall be for the stranger, for the fatherless, and for the widow. When thou gatherest 21 *the grapes of thy vineyard*, thou shalt not glean it after thee : it shall be for the stranger, for the fatherless, and for the widow. And thou shalt remember that thou wast 22 a bondman in the land of Egypt : therefore I command thee to do this thing.

If there be a controversy between men, and they come 25 unto judgement, and *the judges* judge them ; then they shall justify the righteous, and condemn the wicked ; and it shall be, if the wicked man be worthy to be 2 beaten, that the judge shall cause him to lie down, and to be beaten before his face, according to his wickedness, by number. Forty stripes he may give him, he shall 3

treat the last sheaf of corn in a special way, on the ground that it contains the corn-spirit (Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, ii. p. 171 f.) ; the last sheaf may have been left originally for strangers (ib. 232f.) as a convenient method of disposing of its perilous contents. Here, however, a humanitarian motive has replaced a primitive superstition.

20. beatest : olives were and are beaten down from the trees in order to gather them (Isa. xvii. 6, xxiv. 13).

21. See Lev. xix. 10.

xxv. 1-3. *Corporal punishment to be moderate* (cf. Exod. xxi. 20, of slaves only).

1. The apodosis probably begins with 'the judge shall cause him to lie down' ; read therefore 'and they shall justify' (pronounce innocent), . . . 'then it shall be' (verse 2).

2. to lie down : probably for the bastinado (cf. Rob. Smith, *O.T.J.C.*², p. 368). Note here the three precautions against excessive flogging ; (a) **before his face** : i. e. in the presence of the judge himself ; (b) **by number** ; (c) maximum of forty stripes, the exact number being proportionate, i. e. **according to his wickedness**.

3. forty stripes : in later practice this became 'forty stripes

not exceed: lest, if he should exceed, and beat him above these with many stripes, then thy brother should seem vile unto thee.

4 Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn.

5 If brethren dwell together, and one of them die, and have no son, the wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger: her husband's brother shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife, and perform the
6 duty of an husband's brother unto her. And it shall be,

save one' (2 Cor. xi. 24), lest the legal number should be exceeded by a miscount. The Code of Hammurabi (§ 202) imposes 'sixty strokes of a cow-hide whip.'

should seem vile: Hebrew 'should be dishonoured.'

unto thee: Heb. 'before thine eyes,' i. e. openly.

xxv. 4. *The ox to be unmuzzled in threshing* (a misplaced law). In spite of 1 Cor. ix. 9, 10 (cf. 1 Tim. v. 18), the meaning is literal; God *does* 'take care for oxen' (cf. xxii. 6, 7). The custom still continues.

xxv. 5-10. *Levirate Marriage.* The widow of a childless brother is to be married by the survivor, to raise an heir to his name (verses 5, 6). Failure to perform this duty after public challenge shall be punished with public dishonour (verses 7-10). This custom (the English name of which comes from the Latin, 'levir,' husband's brother) occurs in various forms among many peoples (references in Westernmark, *Human Marriage*, p. 510, note). It existed in Israel prior to this law; see the narrative of J in Gen. xxxviii. The parallel in Ruth iv. 1 f. is that of a quasi-Levirate marriage, neither Boaz nor Ruth coming under the exact application of this law, but the aim and legal procedure being similar. The law probably modifies an earlier and wider custom of the inheritance of a dead brother's wife, by the provisions (a) that the brothers in question are those having a common establishment, (b) that the second marriage is to take place only when there was no son born of the first, (c) that the firstborn of the marriage shall take the name and place of the dead brother.

5. husband's brother: a technical term (*yābām*: cf. 'levir,' above) from which the verb 'perform the duty of a husband's brother' (one word in Heb.) is derived.

6. For the Israelite, as for other ancient peoples, the survival of the

that the firstborn which she beareth shall succeed in the name of his brother which is dead, that his name be not blotted out of Israel. And if the man like not to take 7 his brother's wife, then his brother's wife shall go up to the gate unto the elders, and say, My husband's brother refuseth to raise up unto his brother a name in Israel, he will not perform the duty of an husband's brother unto me. Then the elders of his city shall call 8 him, and speak unto him: and if he stand, and say, I like not to take her; then shall his brother's wife 9 come unto him in the presence of the elders, and loose his shoe from off his foot, and spit in his face; and she shall answer and say, So shall it be done unto the man that doth not build up his brother's house. And his 10 name shall be called in Israel, The house of him that hath his shoe loosed.

When men strive together one with another, and the 11

'name' is of supreme importance, and its blotting out the greatest of calamities (ix. 14: cf. verse 19, 'remembrance').

7. to the gate unto the elders: xxi. 19, xxii. 15. Such a marriage, as a duty, is to be enforced by public opinion, though not by any legal penalty. Cf. Ruth iv. 1-12.

9. loose his shoe: Ruth iv. 7, where the removal of the sandal is explained as a symbolic representation of transfer (cession of right). The dishonour lies not in the act itself, but the circumstances of its performance by the woman. Driver refers to Rob. Smith, *Kinship*, p. 269. 'A Bedouin form of divorce is "she was my slipper, and I have cast her off."'

spit in his face: Num. xii. 14; Job xxx. 10; Isa. l. 6.

build up: Ruth iv. 11; Gen. xvi. 2, xxx. 3 (R. V. marg.).

10. The dishonour shall attach to his family, who shall be known as 'the house of bare-foot.'

xxv. 11. A typical case of feminine *immodesty*. So, at least, we must interpret the law as here reproduced; but the severity of the punishment suggests that the woman's act was originally regarded as a breach of the taboo which everywhere attaches to the mystery of generation. The Code of Hammurabi (§§ 202-5) deals with 'striking the strength' of a man (so Johns), where the

wife of the one draweth near for to deliver her husband out of the hand of him that smiteth him, and putteth
 12 forth her hand, and taketh him by the secrets: then thou shalt cut off her hand, thine eye shall have no pity.

13 Thou shalt not have in thy bag divers weights, a great
 14 and a small. Thou shalt not have in thine house
 15 divers measures, a great and a small. A perfect and just weight shalt thou have; a perfect and just measure shalt thou have: that thy days may be long upon the
 16 land which the LORD thy God giveth thee. For all that do such things, *even* all that do unrighteously, are an abomination unto the LORD thy God.

17 Remember what Amalek did unto thee by the way as

genitalia might be meant; e. g. 'If a gentleman's servant has struck the strength of a free-man, one shall cut off his ear.' But, in his later translation (*D.B.*, v. 606) Johns renders 'strength' as 'cheek.'

strive together: wrestle or struggle (*Exod.* xxi. 22).

cut off her hand: as the member contaminated by the breach of taboo, or as inherently evil. No other mutilation as penalty is ordered in the law of Israel, apart from the *ius talionis* of xix. 21 (*Dillmann*); both go back to primitive ideas and practices.

xxv. 13-16. *Fair dealings (weights and measures)*. Cf. *Lev.* xix. 35, 36 (*H*); *Ezek.* xlv. 10 f.

13. divers weights: Heb. 'a stone and a stone,' the larger to weigh purchases, the smaller, sales. Cf. *Amos* viii. 5; *Micah* vi. 11 'with wicked balances and with a bag of deceitful weights' (contrast *Prov.* xvi. 11). Most of the ancient weights still existing are of stone (*E.B.* 5299): cf. 2 *Sam.* xiv. 26 where 'weight' renders Heb. 'stone.'

14. divers measures: Heb. 'an ephah and an ephah,' the ephah being approximately a bushel; these larger measures are naturally kept in the 'house' as contrasted with the 'bag' of weights carried about.

15. perfect in the physical sense of 'whole,' i. e. 'full weight.'

16. Cf. xviii. 12, xxii. 5.

unrighteously: Heb. 'unrighteousness' (*Lev.* xix. 15, 35).

xxv. 17-19. *Hostility to the Amalekites enjoined*.

17. Amalek was encountered by Israel at Rephidim, near Sinai (*Exod.* xvii. 8-16), and was regarded with a peculiar bitterness then

ye came forth out of Egypt; how he met thee by the way, and smote the hindmost of thee, all that were feeble behind thee, when thou wast faint and weary; and he feared not God. Therefore it shall be, when the LORD thy God hath given thee rest from all thine enemies round about, in the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee for an inheritance to possess it, that thou shalt blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven; thou shalt not forget.

And it shall be, when thou art come in unto the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee for an inheritance, and possessest it, and dwellest therein; that thou shalt take of the first of all the fruit of the ground, which thou

and thenceforward (1 Sam. xiv. 48, xv. 2, 3, xxvii. 8, xxx. 1 f.; 2 Sam. viii. 12), till the disappearance of this people from history.

19. rest: see on xii. 10.

blot out, &c. : based on Exod. xvii. 14.

xxvi. 1-11. *Liturgy for (annual) presentation of first-fruits; acknowledgement of the Divine Providence.* Every year the Israelite shall offer a basketful of first-fruits at the altar in Jerusalem, and acknowledge that Yahweh has kept His promise (verses 1-4). In prescribed words he shall recall the history of his people from the time of Jacob to the settlement in Canaan, and shall confess that Yahweh is the giver of the first-fruits presented (verses 5-10^a). The basket shall be deposited at the altar, and there shall be a family feast (verses 10^b-11).

This liturgy stands suitably at the end of the legal code (chaps. xii-xxv), and, with that which follows, relating to the tithes (verses 12-15), illustrates the spirituality of the ritual ceremonies of Israel's religion. (see on verse 5). That the ceremony is to be annually performed appears from its general character; it relates to all the first-fruits, i. e. those of each successive year. The occasion is not stated, but must be one of the three feasts of xvi. 16, perhaps the Feast of Weeks (Pentecost).

1. As xvii. 14.

2. the first of all the fruit: the first-fruits have been mentioned already in xviii. 4 as the due of the priests, and may be included in the heave-offering of xii. 6, 11, 17. Here, apparently, of a representative part.

shalt bring in from thy land that the LORD thy God giveth thee ; and thou shalt put it in a basket, and shalt go unto the place which the LORD thy God shall choose to
 3 cause his name to dwell there. And thou shalt come unto the priest that shall be in those days, and say unto him, I profess this day unto the LORD thy God, that I am come unto the land which the LORD sware unto our
 4 fathers for to give us. And the priest shall take the basket out of thine hand, and set it down before the
 5 altar of the LORD thy God. And thou shalt answer and say before the LORD thy God, A ^a Syrian ^b ready to perish was my father, and he went down into Egypt, and sojourned there, few in number ; and he became there a

^a Heb. *Aramean*.

^b Or, *wandering* Or, *lost*

bring in : i. e. from the field or garden to the barn (2 Sam. ix. 10 ; Hag. i. 6, 'ye have sown much and bring in little').

a basket : cf. xxviii. 5, 17, where it is a typical and familiar article, mentioned along with the kneading-trough.

the place, &c. : see on xii. 5.

3. that shall be in those days : (xvii. 9, xix. 17), i. e. of the year in question (the chief of the priests being meant).

profess : 'declare,' i. e. that Yahweh's oath to the fathers (see on i. 8) has been faithfully kept.

4. 'The basket-bearing priest is a conspicuous figure in the Assyrian sculptures' (D.B., i. 256^a).

5. A Syrian ready to perish : the reference is to Jacob 'the Aramaean,' whose mother, Rebecca, was from Aram-Naharaim (Gen. xxiv. 10), and whose ancestral kindred (xxiv. 4) were of the same country. He himself 'fled into the country of Aram' (Hos. xii. 12), served Laban, and married his daughters there (Gen. xxix-xxxi). The marginal alternatives to 'ready to perish' are due to the fact that the Hebrew word for 'perish' is applied to animals 'straying' or 'lost' (1 Sam. ix. 3, 20 ; Jer. l. 6). The emphasis on Jacob is intended to bring out the lowly origin of Israel. Thanksgiving for present prosperity is made intelligent and vivid by the contrast with past adversity.

he went down into Egypt : Gen. xlv. 1 f. : the number of the family group migrating to Egypt being seventy (Gen. xlv. 26, 27 : cf. Gen. xxxiv. 30).

nation, great, mighty, and populous : and the Egyptians 6
 evil entreated us, and afflicted us, and laid upon us hard
 bondage : and we cried unto the LORD, the God of our 7
 fathers, and the LORD heard our voice, and saw our
 affliction, and our toil, and our oppression : and the 8
 LORD brought us forth out of Egypt with a mighty hand,
 and with an outstretched arm, and with great terrible-
 ness, and with signs, and with wonders : and he hath 9
 brought us into this place, and hath given us this land,
 a land flowing with milk and honey. And now, behold, 10
 I have brought the first of the fruit of the ground, which
 thou, O LORD, hast given me. And thou shalt set it
 down before the LORD thy God, and worship before the
 LORD thy God : and thou shalt rejoice in all the good 11
 which the LORD thy God hath given unto thee, and unto
 thine house, thou, and the Levite, and the stranger that
 is in the midst of thee.

When thou hast made an end of tithing all the tithe 12
 of thine increase in the third year, which is the year of
 tithing, then thou shalt give it unto the Levite, to the
 stranger, to the fatherless, and to the widow, that they
 may eat within thy gates, and be filled ; and thou shalt say 13

great, mighty, and populous : Exod. i. 9.

6-8. Exod. i. 12, 14, ii. 23, iii. 7, 9 ; Num. xx. 15, 16 ; Deut.
 iv. 34.

9. flowing with milk and honey : see on vi. 3.

10. hast given me : by the series of events recapitulated,
 leading up to the possession of Canaan ; these fruits, and the
 opportunity to enjoy them, come alike from Yahweh, not from the
 Baalim of Canaan.

11. Cf. xii. 1, 12, 18, xvi. 11, 14.

xxvi. 12-15. *Triennial Declaration of Tithe and Prayer for
 Prosperity.*

12. in the third year : the tithe of this year being exception-
 ally devoted to the relief of the poor and dependent (xiv. 28).

- before the LORD thy God, I have put away the hallowed things out of mine house, and also have given them unto the Levite, and unto the stranger, to the fatherless, and to the widow, according to all thy commandment which thou hast commanded me : I have not transgressed any of thy commandments, neither have I forgotten them :
- 14 I have not eaten thereof in my mourning, neither have I put away thereof, being unclean, nor given thereof for the dead : I have hearkened to the voice of the LORD my God, I have done according to all that thou hast
- 15 commanded me. Look down from thy holy habitation, from heaven, and bless thy people Israel, and the ground which thou hast given us, as thou swarest unto our fathers, a land flowing with milk and honey.
- 16 This day the LORD thy God commandeth thee to do these statutes and judgements : thou shalt therefore keep and do them with all thine heart, and with all thy soul.
- 17 Thou hast avouched the LORD this day to be thy God,

13. before Yahweh thy God : probably not at home (Gen. xxvii. 7), but at one of the feasts at Jerusalem, more especially the Feast of Tabernacles, which completed the agricultural year.

the hallowed things : i. e. the tithe. as 'holy' to Yahweh ; the same word ('put away') is used of its removal as in xiii. 5, xvii. 7, 12, xix. 13, 19, xxi. 21, xxii. 21-4, xxiv. 7 ; the tithe is under a taboo.

14. Three sources of pollution are disclaimed—(a) consumption of tithe by a mourner, ceremonially unclean by his association with death (Hos. ix. 4) ; (b) separation of tithe by one 'unclean' (cf. Lev. xxii. 1 f.) ; (c) devotion of tithe to (or for) the dead. The last probably refers to the well-known custom, amongst many peoples, of offering food, &c., at a grave for the consumption of the departed spirit.

xxvi. 16-19. *Conclusion to Code.* Let Israel obey these commands, for to-day Israel has accepted Yahweh as God, and Yahweh has accepted Israel as His unique people. (The conclusion of a covenant is presupposed.)

17, 18. avouched : *lit.* 'caused to say,' i. e. to acknowledge, which may be the better rendering here.

and that thou shouldest walk in his ways, and keep his statutes, and his commandments, and his judgements, and hearken unto his voice: and the LORD hath ¹⁸ avouched thee this day to be a peculiar people unto himself, as he hath promised thee, and that thou shouldest keep all his commandments; and to make thee high above ¹⁹ all nations which he hath made, ^a in praise, and in name, and in honour; and that thou mayest be an holy people unto the LORD thy God, as he hath spoken.

[R^D] And Moses and the elders of Israel commanded ²⁷ the people, saying, Keep all the commandment which I command you this day. And it shall be on the day ² when ye shall pass over Jordan unto the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee, that thou shalt set thee up

^a Or, *for a praise, and for a name, and for an honour*

19. Read with R. V. marg.; Israel is to be all this for Yahweh, a 'holy' people, as being separate from all others, a 'peculiar people' (vii. 6).

xxvii. Command to erect stones, inscribed with the law, on Mount Ebal; also to build an altar there (verses 1-8). Appeal for obedience (verses 9, 10). The tribes, in two divisions, shall stand on Gerizim and Ebal for the blessing and the curse respectively (verses 11-13). A series of twelve curses to be pronounced by the Levites.

This chapter is generally admitted to belong to the secondary elements of the book, as appears from—(a) its lack of literary unity, (b) the interruption in the address of Moses, continued without apparent break or explanation in chap. xxviii. The emphasis on the place of the Levites and the character of the curses suggest a late addition, though the curses themselves may be an old liturgical office, used on solemn occasions (Driver, p. 300). The points of contact are with the Book of the Covenant and with the Law of Holiness, rather than with Deuteronomy.

1. and the elders: here only associated with Moses in giving commandment.

2. plaister: the stones were whitewashed to afford a writing surface, as was the customary Egyptian practice.

3 great stones, and plaister them with plaister: and thou shalt write upon them all the words of this law, when thou art passed over; that thou mayest go in unto the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee, a land flowing with milk and honey, as the LORD, the God of thy fathers, hath promised thee. And it shall be when ye are passed over Jordan, that ye shall set up these stones, which I command you this day, in mount Ebal, and thou shalt plaister them with plaister. [JE] And there shalt thou build an altar unto the LORD thy God, an altar of stones: thou shalt lift up no iron *tool* upon them. Thou shalt build the altar of the LORD thy God of ^a unhewn stones: and thou shalt offer burnt offerings thereon unto the LORD thy God: and thou shalt sacrifice peace offerings, [R^D] and shalt eat there; and thou shalt rejoice

^a Heb. *whole*.

3. The best example of the inscription of laws (by engraving) on stone is afforded by the parallel Code of Hammurabi, discovered in 1902 on a block of black diorite, about eight feet high (see *Intro.*, p. 20). In this way laws were 'published' in ancient times, and made accessible to all, as is expressly stated on the above stone.

all the words of this law: how much of Deuteronomy v-xxvi is included it is, of course, impossible to say. Of the Code of Hammurabi 3,614 lines are extant.

4. mount Ebal: xi. 29. The Pentateuch of the Samaritans reads 'Gerizim,' an alteration in favour of their sacred mountain.

5. Cf. *Exod.* xx. 25; the prohibition of worked stone springs from the belief that the stone in its natural state is more sacred than a stone artificially hewn (verse 6), and from the conservatism of religion which opposes any innovation on primitive simplicity. The earliest altar was a stone like that taken by Jacob at Bethel (*Gen.* xxviii. 18).

6. burnt offerings: see on xii. 6; these religious ceremonies ratify the covenant between Yahweh and Israel.

7. peace offerings: *Exod.* xx. 24; called in xii. 6, and elsewhere in Deuteronomy, 'sacrifices.'

shalt eat there, &c.: cf. xii. 7, 12; the sacrificial meal is part of the ceremony of the 'peace-offering.'

before the LORD thy God. And thou shalt write upon 8
the stones all the words of this law very plainly.

[D] And Moses and the priests the Levites spake unto all 9
Israel, saying, Keep silence, and hearken, O Israel;
this day thou art become the people of the LORD thy
God. Thou shalt therefore obey the voice of the LORD 10
thy God, and do his commandments and his statutes,
which I command thee this day.

[R^D] And Moses charged the people the same day, 11
saying, These shall stand upon mount Gerizim to bless 12
the people, when ye are passed over Jordan; Simeon,
and Levi, and Judah, and Issachar, and Joseph, and
Benjamin: and these shall stand upon mount Ebal for 13

8. the stones: distinct from those of the altar. This command, and the record of its fulfilment in Joshua viii. 30, 31, imply the existence of such an altar and stones at the time of the writers.

9, 10. These verses should be compared with xxvi. 16-19, whose thought they continue, and to whose phraseology they are closely related. Israel must obey the voice of Yahweh (xxvi. 17) and do His commands (xxvi. 17), because this day (xxvi. 16, 17, 18) Israel has accepted the position of Yahweh's people (xxvi. 18). On the other hand, their thought is continued in xxviii. 1, 2. Dillmann suggests that **the priests the Levites** is a later addition in view of verses 11-26.

11-13. In xi. 29 the alternative blessing or curse of obedience or disobedience to the law is emphasized by reference to a future ceremony in Canaan which shall bring both home to the Israelite and confirm them for the new country. Here the ceremony is partially described; its actual accomplishment is narrated in Joshua viii. 30-5.

12. These shall stand: the tribes are divided, for the cursing and the blessing (north and south) geographically, according to Steuernagel; the eastern, Reuben and Gad, and the northern Asher, Zebulon, Dan, Naphtali, are opposed to the western and southern tribes, Simeon, Judah, Joseph, Benjamin, Issachar, with Levi. This explanation, however, does not suit the position of Issachar, and most (e. g. Dillmann, Driver, Bertholet) explain the division by the birth through concubines of Dan, Naphtali, Gad, and Asher (Gen. xxx. 1-13), Reuben's forfeiture of birthright (Gen.

- the curse ; Reuben, Gad, and Asher, and Zebulun, Dan,
 14 and Naphtali. [?] And the Levites shall answer, and
 say unto all the men of Israel with a loud voice,
 15 Cursed be the man that maketh a graven or molten
 image, an abomination unto the LORD, the work of the
 hands of the craftsman, and setteth it up in secret.
 And all the people shall answer and say, Amen.
 16 Cursed be he that setteth light by his father or his mother.
 And all the people shall say, Amen.
 17 Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's landmark.
 And all the people shall say, Amen.
 18 Cursed be he that maketh the blind to wander out of
 the way. And all the people shall say, Amen.
 19 Cursed be he that wresteth the judgement of the
 stranger, fatherless, and widow. And all the people
 shall say, Amen.
 20 Cursed be he that lieth with his father's wife ; because

xxxv. 22, xlix. 4), and Zebulun's place as the youngest son of Leah (Gen. xxx. 20), which account for these tribes being appointed to curse.

14 f. The number of the curses is doubtless suggested by that of the twelve tribes. They relate to—(1) imageless religion, (2) dishonour of parents, (3) removal of landmark, (4) want of humanity to blind, (5) injustice to the helpless, (6-9) incest and immorality, (10) murder, (11) bribery, (12) general disobedience to the law.

the Levites: not, as in verse 12, the members of a secular tribe, but in the official sense of x. 8 (clergy as opposed to laity).

15. Cursed: see on Joshua vi. 26.

a graven or molten image: iv. 16, ix. 12 ; Exod. xx. 4 (Deut. v. 8) ; Lev. xix. 4, xxvi. 1.

Amen: (Neh. viii. 6) 'verily' ; may be used at the beginning of a sentence, with reference to previous words (1 Kings i. 36) ; alone (as here, with the implied sentence 'let this curse be') ; or at the end of something said, as in the Lord's Prayer (*E.B.*, 136, 137).

16. v. 16 (= Exod. xx. 12) ; Exod. xxi. 17 ; Lev. xx. 9.

setteth light by: 'dishonoureth,' opposed to the 'honour' of the fifth commandment.

17 (xix. 14). 18 (Lev. xix. 14). 19 (xxiv. 17 ; Exod. xxii.

he hath uncovered his father's skirt. And all the people shall say, Amen.

Cursed be he that lieth with any manner of beast. 21
And all the people shall say, Amen.

Cursed be he that lieth with his sister, the daughter of 22
his father, or the daughter of his mother. And all the people shall say, Amen.

Cursed be he that lieth with his mother in law. And 23
all the people shall say, Amen.

Cursed be he that smiteth his neighbour in secret. 24
And all the people shall say, Amen.

Cursed be he that taketh reward to slay an innocent 25
person. And all the people shall say, Amen.

Cursed be he that confirmeth not the words of this 26
law to do them. And all the people shall say, Amen.

[D] And it shall come to pass, if thou shalt hearken 28

21 f.; Lev. xix. 33 f.). 20 (xxii. 30; Lev. xviii. 8, xx. 11). 21 (Exod. xxii. 19; Lev. xviii. 23, xx. 15). 22 (Lev. xviii. 9, xx. 17; contrast Gen. xx. 12, 2 Sam. xiii. 12, 13). 23 (Lev. xviii. 17, xx. 14). 24 (v. 20 = Exod. xx. 16, Deut. xix. 11; Exod. xxi. 12; Lev. xxiv. 17). 25 (xvi. 19; Exod. xxiii. 8; both in more general sense).

26. Cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 3, 24, where Josiah 'confirms' (*lit.* 'makes to stand') the Deuteronomic law.

The above 'curses' may be the codification of early decisions given at the sanctuary of Shechem—each a primitive Torah—as we may infer from the names given to the sacred trees there, 'the oak of the teacher' (Moreh, Gen. xii. 6), or 'of the augurs' (Judges ix. 37, R.V. marg.). Meyer-Luther (*Die Israeliten*, p. 552), in pointing this out, suggest that such early legislation at Shechem accounts for the insertion of Deut. xii–xxvi between the two parts of the Shechem narrative (Deut. xi. 26–30, xxvii. 1–26).

xxviii. *Conclusion.* A detailed declaration of the blessings of prosperity, which shall be conditional on obedience to the law now given (verses 1–14). A parallel declaration of the curses of adversity, which shall punish disobedience (verses 15–25, 38–46). Further description of the terrors of this divine punishment

diligently unto the voice of the LORD thy God, to observe to do all his commandments which I command thee this day, that the LORD thy God will set thee on
 2 high above all the nations of the earth : and all these blessings shall come upon thee, and overtake thee, if thou shalt hearken unto the voice of the LORD thy God.
 3 Blessed shalt thou be in the city, and blessed shalt thou
 4 be in the field. Blessed shall be the fruit of thy body,

(verses 26-37). Invasion by a fierce enemy ; the horrors of a protracted siege (verses 47-57). Disobedient Israel plagued and scattered in exile ; life a burden ; return to the slavery of Egypt (verses 58-68).

This chapter of solemn and forceful warning seems to belong, at least in part, to the original law-book of Josiah. The evidence for this is (a) the impression made on him by the book when first read (2 Kings xxii. 11, 13) which requires such severe warnings as these ; (b) the parallel conclusions to the 'Book of the Covenant' (Exod. xxiii. 20-33) and to the Law of Holiness (Lev. xxvi) ; (c) the natural continuation in xxviii. 1 of the thought and language of xxvii. 10 (xxvi. 19). But it is difficult to maintain the unity of chap. xxviii. The curses are so very disproportionate in length to the blessings that they seem to have been considerably expanded. A natural conclusion is reached at verse 46 ; the first of the two following sections (verses 47-57) implies experience of the exile and the siege of Jerusalem, the second (verses 58-68) also implies the exile and the (previous) existence of the Deuteronomic law in writing. Within the earlier half of the chapter, also, there seems to be later addition, and Bertholet is probably right in regarding verses 26-37 in this light. The nucleus of the chapter, forming the original conclusion to the Deuteronomic Code, will then be verses 1-25^a, 38-46, a parallel and symmetrical list of blessings and curses.

1. The connexion of thought, through xxvii. 9-10, with xxvi. 16-19 is to be noted. The infrequent word rendered 'on high' (*'elyōn*) occurs also in xxvi. 19, and nowhere else in the prose of Deuteronomy (once only in the poetry, xxxii. 8).

2. **overtake**: the blessings and curses (verse 15) are personified, the same word being used here as of the avenger of blood (xix. 6).

xxviii. 3-6. Six formal blessings cover life in town and country, offspring (or produce), the supply of food, the beginning and the end of each undertaking.

4. Cf. vii. 13 ; the blessing of fertility in every form of life.

and the fruit of thy ground, and the fruit of thy cattle, the increase of thy kine, and the young of thy flock. Blessed shall be thy basket and thy kneading-trough. 5 Blessed shalt thou be when thou comest in, and blessed 6 shalt thou be when thou goest out. The LORD shall 7 cause thine enemies that rise up against thee to be smitten before thee : they shall come out against thee one way, and shall flee before thee seven ways. The LORD 8 shall command the blessing upon thee in thy barns, and in all that thou puttest thine hand unto ; and he shall bless thee in the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee. The LORD shall establish thee for an holy people 9 unto himself, as he hath sworn unto thee ; if thou shalt keep the commandments of the LORD thy God, and walk in his ways. And all the peoples of the earth shall see that 10 thou art called by the name of the LORD ; and they shall be afraid of thee. And the LORD shall make thee 11

5. basket : see xxvi. 2, here representative of plentiful stores.

kneading-trough : Exod. viii. 3, xii. 34 ; essential to the preparation of the daily bread, like the mill of xxiv. 6 ; here representative of plentiful meals.

6. comest in . . . goest out : Ps. cxxi. 8 ; a standing phrase, used by Moses (xxxii. 2), Caleb (Joshua xiv. 11), Solomon (1 Kings iii. 7), to cover the activities of ordinary life.

7. cause : Heb. 'give' (as smitten ones) ; their concentrated attack shall be followed by the pursuit of them as scattered fugitives.

8. shall command : Heb. 'command' (jussive, as is the verb in verses 21, 36).

upon thee : Heb. 'with thee' (see on verse 2).

9. an holy people : vii. 6, xiv. 2, xxvi. 19. The primarily non-ethical meaning of the term is apparent ; 'an holy people' is one separated to Yahweh, apart from actual character in the first instance ; when Israel obeys, Yahweh will confirm His choice of this people as His special property (cf. Exod. xix. 5, 6).

10. thou art called by the name of Yahweh : rather, 'the name of Yahweh is called over thee' (as owner, cf. 2 Sam. xii. 28, R. V. marg.), Jer. xiv. 9, &c.

- plenteous for good, in the fruit of thy body, and in the fruit of thy cattle, and in the fruit of thy ground, in the land which the LORD sware unto thy fathers to give thee.
- 12 The LORD shall open unto thee his good ^a treasure the heaven to give the rain of thy land in its season, and to bless all the work of thine hand: and thou shalt lend
- 13 unto many nations, and thou shalt not borrow. And the LORD shall make thee the head, and not the tail; and thou shalt be above only, and thou shalt not be beneath; if thou shalt hearken unto the commandments of the LORD thy God, which I command thee this day, to
- 14 observe and to do *them*; and shalt not turn aside from any of the words which I command you this day, to the right hand, or to the left, to go after other gods to serve them.
- 15 But it shall come to pass, if thou wilt not hearken unto the voice of the LORD thy God, to observe to do all his commandments and his statutes which I command thee this day; that all these curses shall come upon
- 16 thee, and overtake thee. Cursed shalt thou be in the
- 17 city, and cursed shalt thou be in the field. Cursed shall
- 18 be thy basket and thy kneadingtrough. Cursed shall be the fruit of thy body, and the fruit of thy ground, the
- 19 increase of thy kine, and the young of thy flock. Cursed shalt thou be when thou comest in, and cursed shalt

^a Or, *treasury*

12. treasure: R. V. marg. gives the better rendering, the reference being to the store of water above the firmament (Gen. i. 7, vii. 11: cf. Deut. xi. 11, 17). From this 'treasury' (Job xxxviii. 22) comes the nation's (agricultural) wealth and its financial independence.

13. Cf. Isa. ix. 14, xix. 15.

15-19. These curses take the same verbal form as the blessings (verses 1-6), except that verses 1^b and 2^b are not represented and verse 17 precedes verse 18.

thou be when thou goest out. The LORD shall send ²⁰
upon thee cursing, discomfiture, and rebuke, in all that
thou puttest thine hand unto for to do, until thou be
destroyed, and until thou perish quickly; because of the
evil of thy doings, whereby thou hast forsaken me.
The LORD shall make the pestilence cleave unto thee, ²¹
until he have consumed thee from off the land, whither
thou goest in to possess it. The LORD shall smite thee ²²
with consumption, and with fever, and with inflammation,
and with fiery heat, and with ^athe sword, and with
blasting, and with mildew; and they shall pursue thee
until thou perish. And thy heaven that is over thy ²³
head shall be brass, and the earth that is under thee
shall be iron. The LORD shall make the rain of thy ²⁴
land powder and dust: from heaven shall it come down
upon thee, until thou be destroyed. The LORD shall ²⁵
cause thee to be smitten before thine enemies: thou
shalt go out one way against them, and shalt flee seven

^a Or, according to some ancient versions, *drought*

20 f. The exact parallelism with the blessings is here abandoned, but there is a general similarity as far as verse 25 ^a, resumed in verses 38-46.

21. pestilence: a general term for 'plague,' as is indicated by its use in the frequent Jeremianic phrase, 'I will consume them by the sword and by the famine and by the pestilence' (xiv. 12, &c.).

22. Seven plagues shall pursue Israel, like the sevenfold enemy of verse 25 (cf. verse 2)—the first four being assailants of men, the last three of crops.

the sword: read, with R. V. marg., 'drought,' which requires no change in the Hebrew consonants.

23. Cf. Lev. xxvi. 19; the drought described is the opposite of what is promised in verse 12; the hardened earth yields no fruit, since the closed heaven gives no rain.

24. The well-known sirocco in which 'The air becomes loaded with fine dust, which it whirls in rainless clouds hither and thither' Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, pp. 295, 536).

25. seven ways: see on verse 7, here reversed.

ways before them : [D³] and thou shalt be ^a tossed to
 26 and fro among all the kingdoms of the earth. And thy
 carcase shall be meat unto all fowls of the air, and unto
 the beasts of the earth, and there shall be none to fray
 27 them away. The LORD shall smite thee with the boil of
 Egypt, and with the ^b emerods, and with the scurvy, and
 28 with the itch, whereof thou canst not be healed. The
 LORD shall smite thee with madness, and with blindness,
 29 and with astonishment of heart : and thou shalt grope at
 noonday, as the blind gropeth in darkness, and thou
 shalt not prosper in thy ways : and thou shalt be only
 oppressed and spoiled alway, and there shall be none
 30 to save thee. Thou shalt betroth a wife, and another
 man shall lie with her : thou shalt build an house, and
 thou shalt not dwell therein : thou shalt plant a vine-

^a Or, *a terror unto*

^b Or, *tumours* Or, *plague boils*

tossed to and fro: Heb. 'a trembling,' i. e. an object of terror (R. V. marg.).

The second half of the verse appears to be a reproduction of a Jeremicanic refrain (Jer. xv. 4, xxiv. 9, xxix. 18, xxxiv. 17), whilst verse 26 repeats Jer. vii. 33. The subsequent verses (to 37) are most naturally understood as written after the actual experiences of the captivity and exile.

26. Dishonour to the corpse meant far more to the ancient world than to the modern ; it involved the fortunes of the personality in the dim realm beyond.

fray : i. e. 'frighten.'

27. the boil of Egypt (Exod. ix. 9, &c.) : some form of skin disease, possibly elephantiasis. Skin diseases, such as those named in this verse, were and are common in Syria and Egypt (vii. 15).

emerods : i. e. haemorrhoids (piles), a possible meaning suggested by the usage of the Arabic cognate.

28. Cf. Zech. xii. 4 for these three expressions of mental disorder and dismay.

29. grope : Hebrew, more vividly, 'be groping' : cf. Isa. lix. 10 ; Job v. 14.

prosper in : 'make prosperous,' as in Joshua i. 8.

xxviii. 30-34. *The Calamities of Foreign Invasion* : cf. verse 29 'oppressed and spoiled' (robbed).

yard, and shalt not ^a use the fruit thereof. Thine ox ³¹ shall be slain before thine eyes, and thou shalt not eat thereof: thine ass shall be violently taken away from before thy face, and shall not be restored to thee: thy sheep shall be given unto thine enemies, and thou shalt have none to save thee. Thy sons and thy daughters ³² shall be given unto another people, and thine eyes shall look, and fail with longing for them all the day: and there shall be nought in the power of thine hand. The fruit of thy ground, and all thy labours, shall a ³³ nation which thou knowest not eat up; and thou shalt be only oppressed and crushed alway: so that thou shalt ³⁴ be mad for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see. The LORD shall smite thee in the knees, and in the legs, ³⁵ with a sore boil, whereof thou canst not be healed, from the sole of thy foot unto the crown of thy head. The ³⁶ LORD shall bring thee, and thy king which thou shalt set over thee, unto a nation which thou hast not known, thou nor thy fathers; and there shalt thou serve other gods, wood and stone. And thou shalt become an astonishment, ³⁷ a proverb, and a byword, among all the peoples whither the LORD shall lead thee away. [D] Thou shalt carry ³⁸ much seed out into the field, and shalt gather little in; for the locust shall consume it. Thou shalt plant vine- ³⁹

^a See ch. xx. 6, and Lev. xix. 23-25.

30. Cf. xx. 5-7; Amos v. 11; Mic. vi. 15; Zeph. i. 13.

35. Practically a repetition of verse 27, here an interruption.

36. **thy king** (xvii. 14); after a reign of three months, Jehoiachin was, in 597 B. C., carried captive to Babylon, with 10,000 others, by Nebuchadrezzar (2 Kings xxiv. 8 f.).

other gods: cf. iv. 28 (note).

38 f. The general parallelism with the blessings of the original nucleus of the chapter seems here to be resumed (cf. verses 8, 11 f.). Note that the curse rests on corn, wine, and oil (vii. 13)—the chief products of the soil.

yards and dress them, but thou shalt neither drink of the wine, nor gather *the grapes* ; for the worm shall eat them.
 40 Thou shalt have olive trees throughout all thy borders, but thou shalt not anoint thyself with the oil ; for thine
 41 olive shall cast *its fruit*. [D³] Thou shalt beget sons and daughters, but they shall not be thine ; for they shall go
 42 into captivity. [D] All thy trees and the fruit of thy
 43 ground shall the locust possess. The stranger that is in the midst of thee shall mount up above thee higher and
 44 higher ; and thou shalt come down lower and lower. He shall lend to thee, and thou shalt not lend to him : he
 45 shall be the head, and thou shalt be the tail. And all these curses shall come upon thee, and shall pursue thee, and overtake thee, till thou be destroyed ; because thou
 46 hearkenedst not unto the voice of the LORD thy God, to keep his commandments and his statutes which he
 47 commanded thee : and they shall be upon thee for a sign and for a wonder, and upon thy seed for ever : [D³] because

41. A doublet to verse 32, here interrupting the description of agricultural adversity.

42. the locust: 'probably the *creaker*, from the stridulous sound produced by many of the Orthoptera, especially the males, by rubbing the upper part of the leg against the wing' (Driver, 'Excursus on Locusts' in 'Joel and Amos,' *Cam. Bible*, p. 86). Eight other names for 'locust' occur in the O. T.

43, 44. Cf. verses 12^b, 13^a, with which a contrast is obviously intended.

The stranger: the *gêr* (i. 16), so frequently named in this book as dependent on Israel's consideration ; he will profit (e. g. through commerce) by the barrenness of the soil in which he has no possession.

45, 46. Formal conclusion to the (original) curses, resuming verse 15.

for a sign and for a wonder: i. e. recognized as the divinely foretold penalties for disobedience.

47 f. This exilic section, pointing the moral of the actual misfortunes of Israel, describes (a) the rapacity of the invader (verses

thou servedst not the LORD thy God with joyfulness, and with gladness of heart, by reason of the abundance of all things : therefore shalt thou serve thine enemies which 48 the LORD shall send against thee, in hunger, and in thirst, and in nakedness, and in want of all things : and he shall put a yoke of iron upon thy neck, until he have destroyed thee. The LORD shall bring a nation against 49 thee from far, from the end of the earth, as the eagle flieth ; a nation whose tongue thou shalt not understand ; a nation of fierce countenance, which shall not regard the 50 person of the old, nor shew favour to the young : and he shall eat the fruit of thy cattle, and the fruit of thy ground, 51 until thou be destroyed : which also shall not leave thee corn, wine, or oil, the increase of thy kine, or the young of thy flock, until he have caused thee to perish. And he 52 shall besiege thee in all thy gates, until thy high and fenced walls come down, wherein thou trustedst, throughout all thy land : and he shall besiege thee in all thy gates throughout all thy land, which the LORD thy God hath

49-51) ; (b) the horrors of the subsequent sieges (especially of Jerusalem) (verses 52-57).

47. Cf. vi. 10 f., viii. 11 f. for the moral perils of prosperity.

with joyfulness : characteristic of Deuteronomy (xii. 7, 12, 18) and of the pre-exilic religion of Israel, as opposed to the later development in the pious of the sense of sin, and of anxious and punctilious obedience.

48. a yoke of iron : Jer. xxviii. 14 (note the acted parable of the prophet, verse 10, perhaps responsible for the present use of the figure).

49. from far, &c. : Isa. v. 26 (Assyrians).

as the eagle flieth : or, 'as the vulture (xiv. 12) swoopeth' : Hos. viii. 1 (Assyrians) ; Jer. xlviii. 40, xlix. 22 (Chaldeans).

thou shalt not understand : Isa. xxviii. 11, xxxiii. 19 (Assyrians) ; Jer. v. 15 (Chaldeans).

50. The Chaldeans are described as stern in appearance, pitiless in action (cf. Jer. v. 15 f.).

52. The sieges of the cities ('in all thy gates') throughout the land are described.

- 53 given thee. And thou shalt eat the fruit of thine own body, the flesh of thy sons and of thy daughters which the LORD thy God hath given thee ; in the siege and in the straitness, wherewith thine enemies shall straiten thee.
- 54 The man that is tender among you, and very delicate, his eye shall be evil toward his brother, and toward the wife of his bosom, and toward the remnant of his children
- 55 which he hath remaining : so that he will not give to any of them of the flesh of his children whom he shall eat, because he hath nothing left him ; in the siege and in the straitness, wherewith thine enemy shall straiten thee
- 56 in all thy gates. The tender and delicate woman among you, which would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground for delicateness and tenderness, her eye shall be evil toward the husband of her bosom,
- 57 and toward her son, and toward her daughter ; and toward her ^a young one that cometh out from between her feet, and toward her children which she shall bear ; for she shall eat them for want of all things secretly : in the siege and in the straitness, wherewith thine enemy

^a Or, *after-birth*

53 f. (Lev. xxvi. 29¹). Hunger will brutalize men and lead to inhuman conduct, so terrible will be its force. For these results of famine, cf. 2 Kings vi. 28 f. (siege of Samaria) ; Lam. iv. 10 (siege of Jerusalem). With the whole verse cf. Jer. xix. 9, a related passage, and note the recurrence of the refrain here, in verses 55 and 57.

54. tender . . . delicate : Isa. xlvi. 1 (in a different application) ; the overthrow of the habit which is second nature, as well as of the claims of nature itself.

his eye shall be evil : see on xv. 9 ; he will grudge to give even of this unnatural food to those dearest to him ; in verse 57 used of the grudging look fixed on the meal itself.

56. would not adventure : ' had not tried ' to walk, but was hitherto accustomed to the luxury of litter or carriage only (cf. the similar picture of degradation in Isa. xlvi. 1 f.).

57. R. V. marg. to be read.

shall straiten thee in thy gates. If thou wilt not 58 observe to do all the words of this law that are written in this book, that thou mayest fear this glorious and fearful name, THE LORD THY GOD; then the LORD will make thy 59 plagues wonderful, and the plagues of thy seed, even great plagues, and of long continuance, and sore sicknesses, and of long continuance. And he will bring upon 60 thee again all the diseases of Egypt, which thou wast afraid of; and they shall cleave unto thee. Also every 61 sickness, and every plague, which is not written in the book of this law, them will the LORD bring upon thee, until thou be destroyed. And ye shall be left few in 62 number, whereas ye were as the stars of heaven for multitude; because thou didst not hearken unto the voice of the LORD thy God. And it shall come to pass, that 63 as the LORD rejoiced over you to do you good, and to multiply you; so the LORD will rejoice over you to cause you to perish, and to destroy you; and ye shall be plucked from off the land whither thou goest in to possess it. And the LORD shall scatter thee among all 64 peoples, from the one end of the earth even unto the

xxviii. 58-68. A further warning against disobedience to the written law, independent of what has preceded, but also presupposing experience of the Exile (verse 63 f.).

58. the words of this law that are written in this book: cf. xvii. 18. According to the Book of Deuteronomy itself, the law was not yet written down (see xxxi. 9); the expression suggests some familiarity with a code already written (cf. verse 61).

name: Mic. vi. 9; Isa. lix. 19; Mal. iv. 2; Ps. lxi. 5; Lev. xxiv. 11; a late usage, as is pointed out by Bertholet.

60. Cf. vii. 15.

62. Cf. iv. 27, xxvi. 5; i. 10.

63. The joy of Yahweh in the destruction of Israel is an unusual trait; contrast Hos. xi. 8 f. and the whole conception of that prophet.

other end of the earth; and there thou shalt serve other gods, which thou hast not known, thou nor thy
 65 fathers, even wood and stone. And among these nations shalt thou find no ease, and there shall be no rest for the sole of thy foot: but the LORD shall give thee there a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and pining of soul:
 66 and thy life shall hang in doubt before thee; and thou shalt fear night and day, and shalt have none assurance of
 67 thy life: in the morning thou shalt say, Would God it were even! and at even thou shalt say, Would God it were morning! for the fear of thine heart which thou shalt fear, and for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see.
 68 And the LORD shall bring thee into Egypt again with ships, by the way whereof I said unto thee, Thou shalt see it no more again: and there ye shall sell yourselves unto your enemies for bondmen and for bondwomen, and no man shall buy you.

29 [R^D] ^a These are the words of the covenant which the

^a [Ch. xxviii. 69 in Heb.]

64. other gods: verse 36, iv. 28 (note).

xxviii. 65-67. A description of Israel's life in exile: without a home, full of vain regret: compassed with troubles the anticipation of which makes life itself burdensome.

66. The cause of these anxieties; life hangs by a thread, as did that of Damocles (cf. Job xxiv. 22, R. V. marg.).

67. Israel's life is as wearisome as that of Job (vii. 4).

68. Israel will be brought in slave-ships to Egypt, in spite of Yahweh's former resolve (xvii. 16^b); yet, even as slaves, men will not have them.

sell yourselves: i. e. liberty is sacrificed to maintain life.

xxix. 1. This verse is rather 'a formal subscription, marking the end of the book' in its original form (Moore, *E.B.*, 1088; Driver. Kuenen, and others), than the superscription to chap. xxix (Dillmann, Steuernagel, Bertholet, *Oxf. Hex.*, and others).

xxix-xxx. *Exilic Exhortations:* fidelity to the covenant in Moab. Moses briefly reviews the journey of Israel from Egypt to Moab,

LORD commanded Moses to make with the children of Israel in the land of Moab, beside the covenant which he made with them in Horeb.

[D³] ^a And Moses called unto all Israel, and said unto ² them, Ye have seen all that the LORD did before your eyes in the land of Egypt unto Pharaoh, and unto all his servants, and unto all his land ; the great ^b temptations ³ which thine eyes saw, the signs, and those great wonders : but the LORD hath not given you an heart to know, and ⁴

^a [Ch. xxix. 1 in Heb.]

^b See ch. iv. 34.

as an illustration of the gracious help of Yahweh, which He now covenants to continue (xxix. 2-9). Israel now stands in the presence of Yahweh to enter into this covenant, promised in the past, enduring to all future time (verses 10-15). Let none turn from Yahweh thinking to escape the curse of disobedience ; the wrath of Yahweh shall be manifest to all in Israel's exile (verses 16-29). Yet, even then, return from disobedience will bring return from exile, and the restoration of prosperity (xxx. 1-10). Let Israel note the simplicity and practicability of the Divine commandment (verses 11-14), and the issues of prosperity or adversity absolutely dependent on obedience or disobedience to it (verses 15-20).

These two chapters in their present position form a third address of Moses, separated from the second (central) address by the subscription of xxix. 1 and the new beginning made in verse 2. Even formally, therefore, they are supplementary to the Deuteronomic Law, nor can any sufficient reason be given why they should not have been included in the second address, had they belonged to the original book. The positive evidence of the contents of the chapters assigns them to the period of exile ; thus xxix. 22 f. dwells on the spectacle of a punishment conceived to have taken place, and xxx. 1-10 even discusses the hope of return from exile, a topic which would be psychologically as improbable here as in Isa. xl. f., before the shadow of exile fell on Israel. The two chapters belong to the same class of literature as iv. 1-40 (D³), viz. exilic exhortations on the basis of the written and published law-book.

2. Cf. v. 1 for the method of introducing the address.

Ye: emphatic in the Hebrew (cf. xi. 2-7) ; for the point of this emphasis, see introduction to chap. iv.

3. **temptations:** ' trials ' or provings (note on iv. 34).

4. Now, only, is the full meaning of Israel's history clear

- 5 eyes to see, and ears to hear, unto this day. And I have led you forty years in the wilderness: your clothes are not waxen old upon you, and thy shoe is not waxen old upon thy foot. Ye have not eaten bread, neither have ye drunk wine or strong drink: that ye might know that
- 6 I am the LORD your God. And when ye came unto this place, Sihon the king of Heshbon, and Og the king of Bashan, came out against us unto battle, and we smote them: and we took their land, and gave it for an inheritance unto the Reubenites, and to the Gadites, and to the half tribe of the Manassites. Keep therefore the words of this covenant, and do them, that ye may ^a prosper in all that ye do.
- 10 Ye stand this day all of you before the LORD your God; your heads, your tribes, your elders, and your
- 11 officers, even all the men of Israel, your little ones, your wives, and thy stranger that is in the midst of thy camps,

^a Or, *deal wisely*

through Yahweh's revelation of His purpose and gift of the faculty to understand it.

5. Cf. viii. 2; Amos ii. 10: the 'I' refers to Yahweh (verse 6); with the second half of the verse, cf. viii. 4.

6. The lesson of dependence on Yahweh, already enforced in viii. 3.

7. Cf. ii. 32 f., iii. 1 f., 12 f.

9. Let Israel, therefore, obey Him on whom success depends in the future, as it has in the past.

prosper: R. V. marg. is preferable (prosperity being the result of the wise dealing).

10. **tribes:** we expect a parallel to 'heads' and 'elders,' such as 'judges,' which is found in similar enumeration (Joshua viii. 33, xxiii. 2, xxiv. 1) and should probably be read for 'tribes' here (cf. LXX; the similarity of the two Hebrew words makes their interchange easy).

11. **thy stranger:** the enumeration of those who are to become bound by the covenant is meant to include all without exception, even non-Israelite settlers (here, practically, proselytes) and

from the hewer of thy wood unto the drawer of thy water : that thou shouldest enter into the covenant of the LORD thy God, and into his oath, which the LORD thy God maketh with thee this day : that he may establish thee this day unto himself for a people, and that he may be unto thee a God, as he spake unto thee, and as he swore unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob. Neither with you only do I make this covenant and this oath ; but with him that standeth here with us this day before the LORD our God, and also with him that is not here with us this day : (for ye know how we dwelt in the land of Egypt ; and how we came through the midst of the nations through which ye passed ; and ye have seen their abominations, and their idols, wood

temple-servants (wood-gatherers and water-drawers . Both these classes, as here regarded, belong to a later period of the social life of Israel than that professedly dealt with in this address ; for the former, cf. i. 16, v. 14, &c. ; for the latter, Joshua ix. 21 7.

13. As in xxvi. 17, 18. For the promise to Israel, see Exod. xix. 5 ; the covenant with the fathers is named only by P (Gen. xvii. 7, with Abraham) ; but compare the promises cited in note on i. 8.

14, 15. Israel, present and future, is conceived as a unity ; note the solidarity of the race for ancient thought, a conception remote from our more developed ideas of individuality.

16, 17. The connexion with what preceeds and follows is not clear ; hence the brackets of R. V., making the verses a parenthesis. But (a) the present Israel is addressed as distinguished from the future Israel (ye is emphatic in the Heb.) ; (b) reference is made to Israel's actual experience of idolatry in Egypt and elsewhere ; (c) the aim of the appeal is to secure present fidelity (verse 18, . Israel's past contact with idolatry is not to seduce to a breach of the present covenant. The reference to the future is not resumed till verse 22 ('the generation to come').

16. came . . . passed : the same word in the Hebrew, the construction being like that of i. 46.

17. abominations : 'detestable things,' not the same word as that translated 'abomination' elsewhere in this book ; frequently of idols in Jeremiah (iv. 1) and Ezekiel (v. 11).

idols : another contemptuous term is used, frequent in Ezekiel

and stone, silver and gold, which were among them :)
 18 lest there should be among you man, or woman, or
 family, or tribe, whose heart turneth away this day from
 the LORD our God, to go to serve the gods of those
 nations ; lest there should be among you a root that
 19 beareth ^a gall and wormwood ; and it come to pass, when
 he heareth the words of this ^b curse, that he bless himself
 in his heart, saying, I shall have peace, though I walk in
 the stubbornness of mine heart, ^c to destroy the moist with
 20 the dry : the LORD will not pardon him, but then the
 anger of the LORD and his jealousy shall smoke against
 that man, and all the curse that is written in this book
 shall lie upon him, and the LORD shall blot out his name :

^a Heb. *rosh*, a poisonous herb.

^b Or, *oath* and so vv. 20, 21.

^c Or, *to add drunkenness to thirst*

(vi. 4 ; Lev. xxvi. 30), which appears to describe them as (inanimate)
 ‘cylinders.’

among them : ‘with them,’ i. e. belonging to them ; here,
 perhaps, a further touch of contempt.

18. It is simplest to begin a new sentence with this verse,
 supplying ‘Beware’ as is done by R. V. in Isa. xxxvi. 18 ; Job
 xxxii. 13 (so Driver).

a root that beareth gall and wormwood : i. e. poison and
 bitterness (xxxii. 32 ; Amos vi. 12 ; Hos. x. 4, &c.) in the con-
 sequences of idolatry.

19. curse : ‘oath’ as R. V. marg., i. e. the binding pledge
 given by Yahweh (verse 12) which may lead the individual to
 think he may act with impunity.

to destroy the moist with the dry : ‘to carry away watered
 with dry’ (herbage, as by the wind), i. e. all without distinction,
 a proverbial expression (cf. xxxii. 36) used here to express the
 destruction of the whole community through the infidelity of in-
 dividual members. The result of the idolater’s self-congratulation
 is here stated as his purpose.

20. will not pardon : ‘will not consent to pardon’ (stronger
 than R. V.).

shall smoke : Ps. lxxiv. 1, lxxx. 4 (R. V. marg.) : cf. Deut.
 xxxii. 22 ; Ps. xviii. 8 ; Isa. lxv. 5.

lie upon him : as a wild beast crouching (Gen. xlix. 9) ; so
 of sin, Gen. iv. 7.

from under heaven. And the LORD shall separate him ²¹ unto evil out of all the tribes of Israel, according to all the curses of the covenant that is written in this book of the law. And the generation to come, your children that ²² shall rise up after you, and the foreigner that shall come from a far land, shall say, when they see the plagues of that land, and the sicknesses wherewith the LORD hath made it sick; *and that* the whole land thereof is brim- ²³ stone, and salt, *and* a burning, *that* it is not sown, nor beareth, nor any grass groweth therein, like the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboiim, which the LORD overthrew in his anger, and in his wrath: even ²⁴ all the nations shall say, Wherefore hath the LORD done thus unto this land? what meaneth the heat of this great anger? Then men shall say, Because they forsook the ²⁵ covenant of the LORD, the God of their fathers, which he made with them when he brought them forth out of the land of Egypt; and went and served other gods, and ²⁶ worshipped them, gods whom they knew not, and whom he had not ^a given unto them: therefore the anger of the ²⁷

^a Heb. *divided*.

22 f. The effect of idolatry on the future of the nation, as displayed both to Israelites and non-Israelites. (The exiles traced their calamities to the sins of the fathers: cf. Ezek. xviii. 2; Isa. xl. 2).

23. The land itself shares in the fortunes of the people; contrast Ezek. xlvii. 7 f., where the stream from the sanctuary fertilizes the desert and sweetens the Dead Sea. Here the natural character of the Dead Sea district is extended in thought to the whole land, and regarded as its 'sickness.'

like the overthrow, &c.: cf. Gen. xix. 24 f., and for the vicinity of Admah and Zeboiim, Gen. xiv. 2 (cf. Hos. xi. 8).

24 f. Probably dependent on Jer. xxii. 8 f.; as is verse 28 on Jer. xxi. 5, xxiv. 6, xxxii. 37.

29. The hidden future is Yahweh's, the known past, with its lesson of obedience to the law, is ours. Revelation is here regarded as historical rather than canonical.

LORD was kindled against this land, to bring upon it all
 28 the curse that is written in this book: and the LORD
 rooted them out of their land in anger, and in wrath, and
 in great indignation, and cast them into another land, as
 29 at this day. The secret things belong unto the LORD
 our God: but the things that are revealed belong unto
 us and to our children for ever, that we may do all the
 words of this law.

30 And it shall come to pass, when all these things are
 come upon thee, the blessing and the curse, which I have
 set before thee, and thou shalt call them to mind among
 all the nations, whither the LORD thy God hath driven
 2 thee, and shalt return unto the LORD thy God, and shalt
 obey his voice according to all that I command thee this
 day, thou and thy children, with all thine heart, and with
 3 all thy soul; that then the LORD thy God will ^a turn thy
 captivity, and have compassion upon thee, and will
 return and gather thee from all the peoples, whither the
 4 LORD thy God hath scattered thee. If *any of* thine out-
 casts be in the uttermost parts of heaven, from thence
 will the LORD thy God gather thee, and from thence will
 5 he fetch thee: and the LORD thy God will bring thee into
 the land which thy fathers possessed, and thou shalt

^a Or, *return to*

xxx. 1-10. This section gives a fuller statement of iv. 29-31; if Yahweh is sought by exiled Israel, He will be found.

1. **the blessing and the curse:** i. e. those of chap. xxviii: cf. xi. 26.

3. **turn thy captivity:** 'change thy fortunes,' verb and noun being cognate in the Hebrew (*lit.* 'turn a turning'); Job xlii. 10 shows that the older rendering is unsuitable, though it is retained even there by R. V. The phrase occurs frequently (Amos ix. 14; Jer. xxix. 14, &c.).

4. Nehemiah's prayer (Neh. i. 9) makes this passage its ground of appeal.

possess it; and he will do thee good, and multiply thee above thy fathers. And the LORD thy God will circum- 6
 cise thine heart, and the heart of thy seed, to love the LORD thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, that thou mayest live. And the LORD thy God will put 7
 all these curses upon thine enemies, and on them that hate thee, which persecuted thee. And thou shalt return 8
 and obey the voice of the LORD, and do all his commandments which I command thee this day. And the LORD 9
 thy God will make thee plenteous in all the work of thine hand, in the fruit of thy body, and in the fruit of thy cattle, and in the fruit of thy ground, for good: for the LORD will again rejoice over thee for good, as he rejoiced over thy fathers: if thou shalt obey the voice of 10
 the LORD thy God, to keep his commandments and his statutes which are written in this book of the law; if thou turn unto the LORD thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul.

For this commandment which I command thee this 11

6. circumcise thine heart: x. 16 (note). One lesson of the Exile was the need of divine help for the fulfilment of obedience: cf. Ezekiel's promises of supernatural aid, not only to restore the nation to existence (xxxvii. 1 f.) but to enable it to fulfil its spiritual ideal (xi. 19, xxxvi. 26 f.); note also the conception of the new covenant in Jer. xxxi. 31 f.

that thou mayest live: 'for thy life's sake' (different in form from the phrase in verse 19), to be interpreted of the full prosperity of verse 9 f.

7. all these curses: xxix. 19 f. (cf. xxviii. 15 f. where a different word is used).

8. thou: emphatic in the Hebrew.

xxx. 11-14. These verses can hardly be connected with those of the previous section, since they refer to present issues, not the future possibility of return after penitence. With verses 15-20 they form a fitting conclusion to the exhortations of this book.

11. this commandment (xi. 22, xix. 9): the principle of devotion to Yahweh which underlies and is expressed in the Deuteronomic law.

12 day, it is not too ^a hard for thee, neither is it far off. It
 is not in heaven, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go
 up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us, and make us to
 13 hear it, that we may do it? Neither is it beyond the sea,
 that thou shouldest say, Who shall go over the sea for us,
 and bring it unto us, and make us to hear it, that we may
 14 do it? But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth,
 and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it.

15 See, I have set before thee this day life and good, and
 16 death and evil; in that I command thee this day to love
 the LORD thy God, to walk in his ways, and to keep his
 commandments and his statutes and his judgements, that
 thou mayest live and multiply, and that the LORD thy
 God may bless thee in the land whither thou goest in to
 17 possess it. But if thine heart turn away, and thou wilt
 not hear, but shalt be drawn away, and worship other
 18 gods, and serve them; I denounce unto you this day,
 that ye shall surely perish; ye shall not prolong your
 days upon the land, whither thou passest over Jordan to

^a Or, *wonderful*

hard: i. e. to understand (xvii. 8; Gen. xviii. 14; Jer. xxxii. 17, 27).

far off: and so lying outside the sphere of ordinary life, in heaven or beyond the sea (verses 12, 13).

14. It can enter into ordinary thought (vi. 6, xi. 18) and conversation (vi. 7, xi. 19).

xxx. 15-20. The final issues of prosperity and adversity (a practical application of chap. xxviii).

15. Cf. Jer. xxi. 8, where, as here, the issues are not primarily spiritual but literal life or death, as the 'good' and 'evil' denote simply prosperity and adversity.

16. Most commentators supply a clause from the LXX at the beginning of this verse, which the Hebrew requires, viz. (If thou shalt hearken to the commandment of Yahweh thy God) which I command &c. . . . then thou shalt live and multiply, and Yahweh thy God shall bless thee.

18. denounce: 'declare' (xxvi. 3, R. V. 'profess').

go in to possess it. I call heaven and earth to witness ¹⁹ against you this day, that I have set before thee life and death, the blessing and the curse : therefore choose life, that thou mayest live, thou and thy seed : to love the ²⁰ LORD thy God, to obey his voice, and to cleave unto him : for ^a he is thy life, and the length of thy days : that thou mayest dwell in the land which the LORD swore unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, to give them.

[D²] And Moses went and spake these words unto all ³¹ Israel. And he said unto them, I am an hundred and ² twenty years old this day ; I can no more go out and come in : and the LORD hath said unto me, Thou shalt

^a Or, *that*

19. As iv. 26 (note).

20. **he is thy life**: not, of course, in the mystical sense of Col. iii. 3, Gal. ii. 20, but because Yahweh gives long life to the obedient.

xxxi—xxxiv. In the present form of the Book of Deuteronomy these chapters constitute an appendix, narrating events connected with the close of the life of Moses, and incorporating two poems ascribed to him. Literary analysis, however, shows that they belong in part to the principal documents of the Hexateuch (J, E, P), and continue its narrative from the earlier books to the Book of Joshua.

xxxi. 1 8. Moses announces to Israel the approaching close of his leadership, and speaks of a successful future under Joshua. He urges Joshua to have courage and to trust in Yahweh. For the connexion of this paragraph with chaps. i-iii, cf. i. 37 f., iii. 21 f., 28, as well as the phraseology in general.

1. **went and spake these words**: by Hebrew usage this will refer to something spoken to Moses that has preceded ; the present passage was probably the conclusion of chap. iii, not of chaps. xxix, xxx (so Dillmann and Driver). Others prefer to read with LXX 'finished speaking' (Bertholet and Steuernagel).

2. Cf. xxxiv. 7 (P), where the vigour of Moses is represented as still unfailing ; for **go out and come in**, see on xxviii. 6.

Yahweh hath said: as in iii. 27, which confirms the view of the connexion stated above.

- 3 not go over this Jordan. The LORD thy God, he will go over before thee ; he will destroy these nations from before thee, and thou shalt possess them : *and* Joshua, he shall go over before thee, as the LORD hath spoken.
- 4 And the LORD shall do unto them as he did to Sihon and to Og, the kings of the Amorites, and unto their
- 5 land ; whom he destroyed. And the LORD shall deliver them up before you, and ye shall do unto them according unto all the commandment which I have commanded
- 6 you. Be strong and of a good courage, fear not, nor be affrighted at them : for the LORD thy God, he it is that doth go with thee ; he will not fail thee, nor forsake thee.
- 7 And Moses called unto Joshua, and said unto him in the sight of all Israel, Be strong and of a good courage : for thou shalt go with this people into the land which the LORD hath sworn unto their fathers to give them ; and
- 8 thou shalt cause them to inherit it. And the LORD, he it is that doth go before thee ; he will be with thee, he will not fail thee, neither forsake thee : fear not, neither be dismayed.
- 9 [D] And Moses wrote this law, and delivered it unto

3. **Joshua, &c.** : as in iii. 28.

4. **to Sihon and to Og** : ii. 32 f., iii. 1 f.

5. **the commandment** : viz. that of vii. 1 f.

6. **fail thee** : Heb. 'let thee fall' as in iv. 31 : so in verse 8.

7. **Be strong and of a good courage** : cf. iii. 28, from which the verbs are repeated.

go with : probably we should read 'bring' as in verse 23 (so Sam., Pesh., Vulg.).

cause them to inherit it : as in iii. 28.

xxxii. 9-13. The law, written and delivered by Moses to the priests and elders, is to be read to all Israel once every seven years.

This paragraph finds its most natural explanation as belonging to the original Deuteronomy, for whose regular promulgation it provides.

the priests the sons of Levi, which bare the ark of the covenant of the LORD, and unto all the elders of Israel. And Moses commanded them, saying, At the end of ¹⁰ *every* seven years, in the set time of the year of release, in the feast of tabernacles, when all Israel is come to appear ¹¹ before the LORD thy God in the place which he shall choose, thou shalt read this law before all Israel in their hearing. Assemble the people, the men and the women ¹² and the little ones, and thy stranger that is within thy gates, that they may hear, and that they may learn, and fear the LORD your God, and observe to do all the words of this law; and that their children, which have not ¹³ known, may hear, and learn to fear the LORD your God, as long as ye live in the land whither ye go over Jordan to possess it.

[JE] And the LORD said unto Moses, Behold, thy days ¹⁴

9. priests . . . elders: the representatives of sacred and secular authority (xviii. 1, i. 15).

10. the year of release: xv. 1.

the feast of tabernacles: xvi. 13-15.

11. to appear before: see on xvi. 16.

12. Cf. xxix. 11; and note in verse 13 the characteristic emphasis on the religious education of children (iv. 9, vi. 7, 20-5, xi. 19, xxxii. 46). According to the later Jewish usage, a selection only of passages from Deuteronomy was read.

xxxi. 14, 15, 23 (ascribed to JE on linguistic grounds) narrate that, at Yahweh's bidding, Moses and Joshua appear before Him for the transference of leadership. Yahweh bids Joshua be brave, and promises His help. For P's account of the appointment of Joshua, see Num. xxvii. 22-3.

xxxi. 16-22 represent Yahweh as foretelling to Moses the course of events after his death. Israel will break the covenant with Yahweh (verse 16), so arousing His anger, and bringing trouble on the nation (verses 17, 18). When the prosperity that has beguiled has given place to the adversity that will punish (verses 20, 21), 'this song' will state Yahweh's claims (verses 19, 21^a). Moses accordingly writes down and teaches the song to Israel as bidden (verse 22).

approach that thou must die: call Joshua, and present yourselves in the tent of meeting, that I may give him a charge. And Moses and Joshua went, and presented
 15 themselves in the tent of meeting. And the LORD appeared in the Tent in a pillar of cloud: and the pillar
 16 of cloud stood ^a over the door of the Tent. [R?] And the LORD said unto Moses, Behold, thou shalt sleep with thy fathers; and this people will rise up, and go a whoring after the strange gods of the land, whither they go to be among them, and will forsake me, and break
 17 my covenant which I have made with them. Then my anger shall be kindled against them in that day, and I will forsake them, and I will hide my face from them, and they shall be devoured, and many evils and troubles shall come upon them; so that they will say in that day, Are not these evils come upon us because
 18 our God is not among us? And I will surely hide my face in that day for all the evil which they shall

^a Or, *by*

14. the tent of meeting: i. e. where Yahweh meets with Moses (Exod. xxix. 42, P: cf. Exod. xxxiii. 7, E).

give him a charge: Heb. 'command him' (iii. 28).

15. in a pillar of cloud: Num. xii. 5; Exod. xxxiii. 9 (both JE). For continuation, see verse 23.

16. sleep with thy fathers: cf. Gen. xlvii. 30, where both the usage and the origin (family-grave) of the phrase are illustrated.

go a whoring: Exod. xxxiv. 16; Ezek. vi. 9, &c.; the original force of the phrase was probably literal, not figurative, in view of the frequency of prostitution in the service of heathen deities (see on xxiii. 17, 18).

to be among them: Heb. 'in its midst' (i. e. the 'strange gods' are in the midst of the people, Joshua xxiv. 23); the awkwardness of the sentence, it has been conjectured, is due to the interpolated 'of the land whither they go.'

17. our God is not among us: Heb. 'my God is not in my midst': contrast Isa. xii. 6; Zeph. iii. 17. Israel's problems of providence were concerned not with the existence, but with the activity of God.

have wrought, in that they are turned unto other gods. Now therefore write ye this song for you, and teach thou ¹⁹ it the children of Israel: put it in their mouths, that this song may be a witness for me against the children of Israel. For when I shall have brought them into the ²⁰ land which I swear unto their fathers, flowing with milk and honey; and they shall have eaten and filled themselves, and waxen fat; then will they turn unto other gods, and serve them, and despise me, and break my covenant. And it shall come to pass, when many evils ²¹ and troubles are come upon them, that this song shall testify before them as a witness; for it shall not be forgotten out of the mouths of their seed: for I know their imagination which they go about, even now, before I have brought them into the land which I swear. So ²² Moses wrote this song the same day, and taught it the children of Israel. [JE] And he gave Joshua the son of ²³ Nun a charge, and said, Be strong and of a good courage: for thou shalt bring the children of Israel into the land which I swear unto them: and I will be with thee.

[D³] And it came to pass, when Moses had made an ²⁴ end of writing the words of this law in a book, until they

19. write ye: viz. Moses and Joshua (xxxii. 44).

21. go about: Heb. 'make'; already the germs of apostasy are visible to Yahweh. Add 'to their (its) fathers' to 'swear' (with Sam., LXX).

23. This continues verse 15; its subject will then be, not Moses, but Yahweh.

xxxi. 24-9. Moses hands the written law to the Levites, whom he commands to place it by the ark (verses 24-6). He addresses Israel, and warns against apostasy and its punishment (verses 27-9).

xxxi. 24-6 form a doublet to verses 9 f. The connexion with verses 27-9 and of this with what follows is obscure. Moses, who is addressing the Levites in verse 26, seems to pass without explanation to address Israel.

- 25 were finished, that Moses commanded the Levites, which
 26 bare the ark of the covenant of the LORD, saying, Take
 this book of the law, and put it by the side of the ark of
 the covenant of the LORD your God, that it may be there
 27 for a witness against thee. For I know thy rebellion, and
 thy stiff neck: behold, while I am yet alive with you this
 day, ye have been rebellious against the LORD; and how
 28 much more after my death? Assemble unto me all the
 elders of your tribes, and your officers, that I may speak
 these words in their ears, and call heaven and earth to
 29 witness against them. For I know that after my death,
 ye will utterly corrupt yourselves, and turn aside from the
 way which I have commanded you; and evil will befall
 you in the latter days; because ye will do that which is
 evil in the sight of the LORD, to provoke him to anger
 through the work of your hands.
- 30 [R?] And Moses spake in the ears of all the assembly
 of Israel the words of this song, until they were finished.
- 32 Give ear, ye heavens, and I will speak;
 And let the earth hear the words of my mouth:

25. the Levites: cf. x. 8, and verse 9.

27. 'I' in the Hebrew is emphatic.

28. these words: in the present context, the reference must be to the Song. Bertholet and Steuernagel, following Staerk, think that 'the law' has displaced 'the song' in this section.

call heaven and earth to witness: cf. xxx. 19, which would be the invocation in question if (as Dillmann and others have thought) chaps. xxix, xxx formed the address to which this is the preface; see also iv. 26 (note).

29. corrupt yourselves: Heb. 'do corruptly,' cf. iv. 25.

in the latter days: Heb. 'in the end of the days' (iv. 30 note).

to anger: omit.

xxx. 30. Introductory note in continuation of verses 16-22, by the redactor who incorporated the song in the narrative.

the assembly of Israel: (v. 22; Joshua viii. 35) which has been gathered for the purpose (xxx. 28).

xxxii. 1-43. *The Song of Moses.* The ascription of this poem to Moses depends solely on the redactor (xxxii. 19, 22, 30, xxxii. 44) who incorporated it in the text, and is without any internal support from the poem itself. On the contrary, the reference in verses 7 f. to the Exodus and Settlement as events of a long remote past proves, what the religious outlook and literary form of the poem confirm, that it belongs to an age much later than the Mosaic. There has naturally been much difference of opinion as to the precise period of its composition, because it does not contain any very definite historical references. But the general situation presupposed is clear; Israel has suffered great disasters (verses 22-5), and defeat in battle (verse 30), and is at the mercy of its enemy (verse 36); its one hope is represented as the speedy intervention of Yahweh to save it from the 'no-people' (verse 21), into whose hand Yahweh has seen fit to deliver it. Who are the 'no-people'? Some, e.g. Dillmann (p. 393) have answered, 'The Syrians,' and assigned the poem to the time of Elijah and Elisha, when Israel was crushed by Benhadad and Hazael (1 Kings xx. 1 f., xxii. 34 f.; 2 Kings v. 2, vi. 8, 24 f., ix. 14 f., x. 32 f., xiii. 7), i. e. to the ninth century B. C. Others, e.g. Ewald, have identified the 'no-people' with the Assyrians, and have placed the poem in the eighth century, shortly before the fall of Samaria (722 B. C.). There remains the relation of Israel to the Chaldeans as a possible background to the poem. Kuenen (*Hex.* §§ 13 n. 30) argues for a Judæan contemporary of Jeremiah as its author, and places the Song about 630 B. C. or a generation later. He relies on such parallels as Jer. v. 15, 16, vi. 22, 23; Hab. i. 6 f., to prove that the 'no-people' are the Chaldeans. Driver, in accepting this view, emphasizes the agreement in thought and attitude with the prophets of the Chaldean age, Jeremiah, Ezekiel (Jer. ii. 4-28; Ezek. xvi, xx). Steuernagel, whilst admitting (p. 114) that the lack of specific reference to the Exile, and the numerous points of contact with Jeremiah are in favour of a date shortly before the Exile, decides for the latter part of the Exile itself because of the expectation of a speedy overthrow of the (Chaldean) power, and the agreement with Ezekiel and Isaiah xl f. With this agree Bertholet (p. 95), Moore (*E.B.*, 1089), and the *Oxford Hexateuch* (i. 162). It seems probable that the last-named view is correct, especially in the light of the agreement of the general outlook of the poem with Isa. xl. f., the great prophecy of the exile.

The subject of the poem is the vindication of the ways of Yahweh as revealed in the history of Israel (verse 4), and the criticism of Israel itself as a senseless and ungrateful people (verses 5, 6); Yahweh's faithfulness and Israel's unfaithfulness are the factors of the problem of Israel's present adversity, to which the writer seeks to bring the prophetic comfort of reviving

- 2 My doctrine shall drop as the rain,
My speech shall distil as the dew ;

hope (verses 1-3) in Yahweh's approaching intervention. The poet reviews the ancient story of Israel's adoption by Yahweh in the desert, and of His fatherly care for the infant nation, until He brought it into the prosperous land of Canaan to be His own people (verses 7-14). But Israel's consequent prosperity issued in the abandonment of the worship of Yahweh for other religions, with no deep root in Israel's past history (verses 15-18). It was this ingratitude that caused Yahweh to turn from Israel and to deliver them to a 'no-people' (verses 19-21); and the poet recounts the plagues of hunger, pestilence, wild beasts, and war, in which Yahweh's vexation finds expression (verses 22-5). Indeed, it is but the thought of the enemy's self-congratulation that restrains Him from the annihilation of Israel (verses 26, 27). The poet dwells on the stupidity of Israelites who cannot interpret disaster as the result of Yahweh's withdrawal, not of His defeat (verses 28-30). The heathen gods are impotent before Yahweh; the heathen foe corrupt (verses 31-3). For them also punishment in the near future is being prepared (verses 34, 35). The utter helplessness of Israel in their hands hastens the intervention of Yahweh (verse 36). How helpless are the heathen gods against Him! (verses 37-9). He has sworn to take a bloody vengeance on His foes (verses 40-2). Let other nations, then, greet with ringing cries the recovered fortunes of Israel (verse 43). The poem consequently falls into four principal parts, viz. (a) the subject stated (verses 1-6), (b) the providence of Yahweh reviewed (verses 7-14), (c) the ingratitude and punishment of Israel (verses 15-27), (d) the declaration of Yahweh's purpose to intervene and save (verses 28-43).

xxxii. 1-3. *Introduction*: solemn appeal to the universe for attention, in view of the greatness of Yahweh to be proclaimed.

1. **ye heavens . . . the earth**: not, as in xxxi. 28. an appeal to witnesses, but a poet-prophet's expression of the importance of his subject (Isa. i. 2).

2. **doctrine**: i. e. 'teaching'; the Hebrew word is characteristic of the Wisdom-literature, to which this didactic poem is related. The truths learnt by the poet shall refresh the hearts of Israelites, as the rain and dew falling on thirsty herbage (Isa. lv. 10 f.; Ps. lxxii. 6); the poem is, therefore, to be not of warning (as interpreted by the redactor, xxxi. 16 f.), but chiefly of comfort, and to awaken the new life of hope and trust. The verbs are best rendered as expressing a wish: 'Let my teaching drop, let my speech distil.'

- 7 Remember the days of old,
Consider the years of many generations :
Ask thy father, and he will shew thee ;
Thine elders, and they will tell thee.
- 8 When the Most High gave to the nations the
inheritance,
When he separated the children of men,
He set the bounds of the peoples
According to the number of the children of Israel.
- 9 For the LORD'S portion is his people ;
Jacob is the lot of his inheritance.
- 10 He found him in a desert land,
And in the waste howling wilderness ;
He compassed him about, he cared for him,

xxxii. 7-14. *The story of Israel's birth, and of Yahweh's paternal care and provision for His child.*

7. of many generations : Heb. of 'generation and generation' implying that the early history of Israel, the Exodus and entrance into Canaan, lie in the long remote past, for the writer of the poem. The verse is, of course, conclusive against Mosaic authorship.

8, 9. The fathers and elders, as depositaries of ancient tradition reply that Yahweh left a sufficient territory for 'the sons of Israel' amongst the nations to whom He divided the earth. This must be the meaning of the Hebrew text ; but the last clause of verse 8 reads in LXX, 'angels of God' for 'sons of Israel,' i. e. if the Hebrew original read 'sons of God' (as in Gen. vi. 2, 4 ; Job 6, ii. 1, xxxviii. 7). This preferable reading implies that other nations were committed to the care of guardian-angels (Dan. x. 13, 20 f., xii. 1), whilst Yahweh Himself superintends the destinies of Israel ; cf. Eccclus. xvii. 17. In verse 9 read with LXX, 'But' (*lit.* 'And') instead of 'For.'

10. He found him : cf. Hos. ix. 10 ; Ezek. xvi. 5 f. (the context of the latter passage working out in detail the figure of the abandoned infant, adopted by Yahweh). For the poet's purpose Israel's history begins in the desert, so that a more effective contrast may be gained with the settled home of Canaan.

the waste howling wilderness : a desolate land where wild beasts howl.

the apple of his eye : Heb. 'the little man of his eye,' i. e.

He kept him as the apple of his eye :
 As an eagle that stirreth up her nest, 11
 That fluttereth over her young,
^a He spread abroad his wings, he took them,
 He bare them on his pinions :
 The LORD alone did lead him, 12
 And there was no strange god with him.
 He made him ride on the high places of the earth, 13
 And he did eat the increase of the field ;
 And he made him to suck honey out of the rock,
 And oil out of the flinty rock ;

^b Or, *Spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her pinions*

the pupil, from its reflection of the observer (cf. Ps. xvii. 8 ; Prov. vii. 2). Primitive thought frequently connects it with the soul, discerning 'a sign of bewitchment or approaching death in the disappearance of the image, pupil, or baby, from the dim eyeballs of the sick man' (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, i. 431). Here, then, the meaning will be 'as his very life.'

11. Yahweh, in His care for Israel, is compared with the eagle (properly, 'vulture,' as in xiv. 12), impelling its young to fly, whilst saving them from peril. For the figure, cf. Exod. xix. 4 ('how I bare you on eagles' wings') ; for the thought, Hos. xi. 1, 3, where Yahweh is represented as teaching the little child to walk, and carrying him, when weary, on His arms.

12. **no strange god with him** : no 'foreign god' helped Yahweh in His fatherly task (Hos. xiii. 4, R. V. marg., Isa. xliii. 12) ; why then, it is implied, should 'foreign gods' share in Israel's regard ?

xxxii. 13, 14. *The Settlement in Canaan.*

ride on the high places : as promised in Isa. lviii. 14. The figure is that of the victorious warrior, advancing resistlessly (xxxiii. 29 ; Hab. iii. 19 ; Ps. xviii. 33), and is elsewhere applied to Yahweh Himself (Amos iv. 13 ; Mic. i. 3), who makes His child sharer in His victory.

he did eat the increase (fruits) : read, with the versions, 'He made him eat,' which suits the parallelism better.

The **honey** is that of the wild bees in the clefts of the rocks (Ps. lxxxi. 16) ; the **oil**, that of the olive-tree, growing in rocky soil (Job xxix. 6. Even the least likely parts of the land yield their gracious tribute to Yahweh's favourites.

- 14 Butter of kine, and milk of sheep,
 With fat of lambs,
 And rams of the breed of Bashan, and goats,
 With the fat of kidneys of wheat ;
 And of the blood of the grape thou drankest wine.
- 15 But Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked :
 Thou art waxen fat, thou art grown thick, thou art
 become sleek :
 Then he forsook God which made him,
 And lightly esteemed the Rock of his salvation.
- 16 They moved him to jealousy with strange *gods*,
 With abominations provoked they him to anger.

14. butter: 'curd' or curdled milk, now, as then, a common Oriental dish. Cf. Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i. 41.

And rams: join with previous line, as in LXX; the two lines will then read:

With fat of lambs and rams,
 Cattle of Bashan and goats.

the fat of kidneys is the choicest fat (Lev. iii. 4; Isa. xxxiv. 6); the phrase is here applied figuratively to wheat, and means simply 'the choicest wheat' (Ps. lxxxii. 16, cxlvii. 14).

the blood of the grape (Gen. xlix. 11), which Israel drinks as (fermenting) wine.

xxxii. 15-18. The father forgotten by the well-cared-for child, spoiled by prosperity.

15. Jeshurun: (xxxiii. 5, 26; Isa. xlv. 2), the 'upright' one, a title of Israel (cf. 'the book of Jashar,' R.V. marg. to Joshua x. 13), which here becomes purposely ironical.

thou art become sleek: probably 'thou wast sated,' or gorged with food. In this verse and in verse 18, the verbs relate to the past, not to the present. The child, it seems to be implied, has become an over-fed animal, kicking against the pricks of the goad (cf. 1 Sam. ii. 29); brutish sensuality appeared instead of the man's grateful obedience.

lightly esteemed: Hebrew 'treated as a fool': cf. Micah vii. 6 (R. V. 'dishonoureth').

16. strange (gods): (Jer. ii. 25, iii. 13), the **abominations**, Isa. xlv. 19, with which they vexed Yahweh (omit 'to anger,' here and in verse 21, which the Hebrew does not express): cf. Ps. lxxviii. 58.

They sacrificed unto demons, *which were* no God, 17
 To gods whom they knew not,
 To new *gods* that came up of late,
 Whom your fathers dreaded not.
 Of the Rock that ^a begat thee thou art unmindful, 18
 And hast forgotten God that gave thee birth.
 And the LORD saw *it*, and abhorred *them*, 19
 Because of the provocation of his sons and his
 daughters.
 And he said, I will hide my face from them, 20
 I will see what their end shall be :
 For they are a very froward generation,
 Children in whom is no faith.
 They have moved me to jealousy with that which is 21
 not God ;

^a Or, *bare*

17. demons (Ps. cvi. 37) : the Hebrew word (*Shédim*) is borrowed from the Assyrian *šédu*, denoting a protective demon (subordinate deity), represented by the bull-colossus at the entrances of temples (*Die Keilinschriften und das A.T.*,³ p. 455). Their divinity is denied by the term 'no-god'; whilst Israel's 'new gods' in general are said to be without the link of past history that binds Israel to Yahweh (Isa. lxiii. 16).

dreaded not : 'were not acquainted with' (from an Arabic cognate).

18. Yahweh is here represented as both father and mother to Israel ('begat' of the father; 'gave thee birth,' i. e. travailed with thee, of the mother).

xxxii. 19-27. The effect of this conduct on Yahweh : He declares the merited punishment.

19. abhorred (them) : Hebrew 'contemned' or 'spurned'; cf. Jer. xiv. 21.

provocation : the vexation inflicted on Himself by Israel.

20. Yahweh will stand aloof (xxxi. 17, 18), withdrawing the help that has made Israel prosperous.

a very froward generation : i. e. from-ward; Hebrew 'a generation of perversions.'

faith : 'faithfulness.'

21. Notice the parallelism; 'they' and 'I' are emphatically

They have provoked me to anger with their vanities :
And I will move them to jealousy with those which
are not a people ;

I will provoke them to anger with a foolish nation.

22 For a fire is kindled in mine anger,
And burneth unto the lowest ^a pit,
And devoureth the earth with her increase,
And setteth on fire the foundations of the mountains.

23 I will heap mischiefs upon them ;
I will spend mine arrows upon them :

24 *They shall be* wasted with hunger, and devoured
with ^b burning heat
And bitter destruction ;

^a Heb. *Sheol*.

^b Heb. *burning coals*. See Hab. iii. 5.

contrasted in the Hebrew ; the 'no-people' answers to the 'no-god,' the 'senseless nation' to 'their vanities,' and the same verbs, 'make jealous' and 'vex' (omit 'to anger') are used in both clauses. For the question as to the identity of this 'no-people,' through whom Yahweh punishes Israel, see the introduction to this chapter. They are not more a people than their gods are God. See *Introd.*, p. 35.

vanities: (*lit.* 'breaths') a Jeremicanic term for heathen deities (e. g. viii. 19). Paul applies the second half of the verse to Israel's jealousy and vexation at the entrance of heathen into the kingdom (Rom. x. 19).

22 f. *Yahweh's anger against faithless Israel.*

the lowest pit: Sheol is named, in parallelism with 'the foundations of the mountains,' to denote the unlimited reach of Yahweh's anger : see the diagram in the *Century Bible*, 'Genesis,' p. 66.

23. I will heap: Hebrew 'I will sweep (catch) up,' but we ought probably to reposit the Hebrew consonants and read either 'I will add' or (with versions) 'I will gather'; **mischiefs:** Hebrew 'evils.'

spend: i. e. use up, exhaust the whole quiver against Israel (cf. Ezek. v. 16).

24. The three plagues of hunger, pestilence, wild beasts (and reptiles) ; Jer. xiv. 12, &c. ; Ezek. xiv. 15, 21.

burning heat: 'the Fire-bolt, a poetical designation of the

And the teeth of beasts will I send upon them,
 With the poison of crawling things of the dust.
 Without shall the sword bereave, 25
 And in the chambers terror ;
It shall destroy both young man and virgin,
 The suckling with the man of gray hairs.
 I said, I would scatter them afar, 26
 I would make the remembrance of them to cease
 from among men :
 Were it not that I feared the provocation of the 27
 enemy,
 Lest their adversaries should misdeem,
 Lest they should say, Our hand is exalted,
 And the LORD hath not done all this.
 For they are a nation void of counsel, 28
 And there is no understanding in them.
 Oh that they were wise, that they understood this, 29
 That they would consider their latter end !

fiery darts, sent by Jehovah, to which the poet (or popular imagination) attributed fever, or other pestilential complaint' (Driver).

25. The evils of war, as a fourth plague, without and within, on young and on old.

xxxii. 26, 27. 'I should have said, I will cleave them in pieces, I will make, &c.' Yahweh was hindered from saying this (and accomplishing it) by the reason given in verse 27, that the enemies of Israel would count it their own victory over Yahweh and His people, not Yahweh's will.

xxxii. 28-33. The poet laments Israel's failure to understand disaster as part of Yahweh's purpose ; how can He be compared with heathen deities, as though they were victorious over Him ? nor can these corrupt nations be thought to be themselves pleasing to Yahweh.

28. **void of counsel** : Hebrew 'perishing of counsel' (Jer. xlix. 7). This is the reason ('For') why such severe discipline is necessary.

29. 'If they had been wise, they would understand this, they would discern their latter end,' i. e. that end to which Yahweh purposed to leave them (verse 20).

- 30 How should one chase a thousand,
And two put ten thousand to flight,
Except their Rock had sold them,
And the LORD had delivered them up?
- 31 For their rock is not as our Rock,
Even our enemies themselves being judges.
- 32 For their vine is of the vine of Sodom,
And of the fields of Gomorrah :
Their grapes are grapes of ^a gall,
Their clusters are bitter :
- 33 Their wine is the poison of dragons,
And the cruel venom of asps.
- 34 Is not this laid up in store with me,
Sealed up ^b among my treasures?

^a See ch. xxix. 18.

^b Or, *in my treasures*

30. The shameful defeat of Israel in battle is due, not to Yahweh's inadequacy, but to His deliberate abandonment of Israel's cause : cf. Isa. xxx. 17 ; contrast Lev. xxvi. 8.

31. Even Israel's foes shall recognize the unique supremacy of Yahweh. (Thus the Egyptians are represented as confessing the invincible might of Yahweh, Exod. xiv. 25.)

xxxii. 32, 33. The figure of the vine, so often used of Israel, is here applied to Israel's foes, to describe their corruption in root and fruit ; less probably, of Israel's corruption.

32. the vine of Sodom, &c. The names 'Sodom' and 'Gomorrah' are here used generally, as often (Isa. i. 10 ; Jer. xxiii. 14), as types of wickedness.

32^b. Their grapes are poisonous grapes,
Bitter clusters are theirs.

33. the poison of dragons : i. e. of serpents (Ps. xci. 13 ; Exod. vii. 9 f.).

venom of asps : possibly of cobras. 'Poison' and 'venom' should be interchanged in this verse to correspond more exactly with the Hebrew.

xxxii. 34, 35. Yahweh declares that this corruption shall itself be punished.

34. Sealed up among my treasures : read with R. V. marg. For the figure (sin kept for punishment), see Hos. xiii. 12 ; Job xiv. 17.

Vengeance is mine, and recompence, 35

At the time when their foot shall slide :

For the day of their calamity is at hand,

And the things that are to come upon them shall
make haste.

For the LORD shall judge his people, 36

And repent himself for his servants ;

When he seeth that *their* power is gone,

And there is none *remaining*, shut up or left at large.

And he shall say, Where are their gods, 37

The rock in which they ^a trusted ;

Which did eat the fat of their sacrifices, 38

^a Or, *took refuge*

35. Vengeance is mine : quoted Heb. x. 30 ; Rom. xii. 19. The LXX and the Samaritan Pentateuch, however, read ' For the day of vengeance and recompense,' which connects more closely with the previous verse, and forms a better parallel with ' For the time when their foot shall slide ' (so giving Yahweh His opportunity).

at hand : in which speedy approach of Yahweh's day of intervention lies the practical comfort of the poem (cf. Isa. xl. 1).

36. Israel's helplessness affords a motive parallel with that of heathen corruption for Yahweh's intervention.

judge : i. e., as the parallel line shows, examine His people's case, and decide that the time for intervention is ripe.

repent himself : or ' have compassion on.' This half-verse is repeated in Ps. cxxxv. 14.

power : Hebrew ' hand ' (Lev. xxv. 35), perhaps here in the sense ' support.'

shut up or left at large : in Hebrew an alliterative phrase, used to express ' all ' (1 Kings xiv. 10, &c.) ; we may compare such a phrase in English as ' bag and baggage ' ; such phrases are frequent in Semitic speech (xxix. 19). The precise origin of this phrase is doubtful ; it may refer to those under taboo and those free from taboo, a very important principle of classification for primitive thought (*Rel. Sem.*,² 456).

xxxii. 37-39. Yahweh contrasts Himself with the gods who can do nothing against His judgement. Where are the gods to which Israel has turned for refuge (R. V. marg.) ? on which Israel has lavished material gifts in vain.

And drank the wine of their drink offering?

Let them rise up and help you,

Let them be your protection.

39 See now that I, even I, am he,

And there is no god with me :

I kill, and I make alive ;

I have wounded, and I heal :

And there is none that can deliver out of my hand.

40 For I lift up my hand to heaven,

And say, As I live for ever,

41 If I whet ^a my glittering sword,

And mine hand take hold on judgement ;

I will render vengeance to mine adversaries,

And will recompense them that hate me.

^a Heb. *the lightning of my sword.*

38. let them be your protection: Hebrew 'let there be unto you a shelter' (secret place). The versions read 'let them be.'

39. I am he: i. e. Yahweh, the supreme God (Isa. xli. 4, xliii. 10, 13, xlviii. 12), the first and the last, with whom **there is no god** (Deut. iv. 35), and from whose hand there is no deliverer (Hos. ii. 10, v. 14; Isa. xliii. 13).

I kill . . . I heal: both pronouns are emphatic in the Hebrew. The reference is simply to the absolute power over life and death possessed by Yahweh, and not to any doctrine of individual resurrection (1 Sam. ii. 6; Hos. vi. 2, &c.).

xxxii. 40-42. *Yahweh swears to take vengeance on Israel's foes.*

lift up my hand: (Exod. vi. 8; Num. xiv. 30; Ezek. xx. 5, and often in Ezekiel) the action of one taking an oath (Gen. xiv. 22).

As I live: often in Ezekiel (v. 11), and elsewhere: Yahweh swears by Himself (Heb. vi. 13).

41. If does not make the vengeance conditional, but *when* the time for action arrives, the vengeance will be complete.

my glittering sword: (note R. V. marg.) cf. Nah. iii. 3, Hab. iii. 11 for the flashing weapon of the warrior, here figuratively assigned to Yahweh, who takes hold on judgement as a weapon.

I will make mine arrows drunk with blood, 42
 And my sword shall devour flesh ;
 With the blood of the slain and the captives,
^a From ^b the head of the leaders of the enemy.
^c Rejoice, O ^d ye nations, *with* his people : 43
 For he will avenge the blood of his servants,
 And will render vengeance to his adversaries,
 And will make expiation for his land, for his people.

And Moses came and spake all the words of this song 44
 in the ears of the people, he, and Hoshea the son of Nun.
 [D³] And Moses made an end of speaking all these 45

^a Or, *From the beginning of revenges upon the enemy*

^b Or, *the hairy head of the enemy*

^c Or, *Praise his people, ye nations* ^d Or, *ye nations, his people*

42. Yahweh's battlefield described (cf. Isa. lxiii. 3-6). The weapons once turned against Israel (verses 23, 25) are now so fiercely employed against Israel's foes that the poet must needs personify their fury ; the very captives are slain to gratify them.

From the head, &c. The marginal alternatives show the difficulty of translation ; the second of these is preferable to the text, as giving a parallel detail to the 'blood,' these scalps being the prey of Yahweh's sword.

43. *Conclusion* : let the (other) nations congratulate Israel upon this vengeance taken on Israel's foes.

Rejoice, O ye nations, with his people : rather (cf. R. V. marg.), 'Greet His people joyfully' (the verb denotes the utterance of a ringing cry, here inspired by the thought of Yahweh's intervention).

make expiation : (see on xxi. 8) for the blood of Israel that has been shed (the fact that this bloodshed was, in verse 25, a divine punishment of Israel is disregarded).

for his land, for his people : read, with versions, 'for the land of his people.'

44. Concluding note by the redactor, answering to the introductory note, xxxi. 30.

Hoshea : i. e. Joshua, which the versions read here. Cf. xxxi. 19 (note).

xxxii. 45-47. Moses commends the law as Israel's life. This has nothing to do with the Song, but is connected with xxxi. 24-9.

46 words to all Israel: and he said unto them, Set your heart unto all the words which I testify unto you this day; which ye shall command your children, to observe
 47 to do all the words of this law. For it is no vain thing for you; because it is your life, and through this thing ye shall prolong your days upon the land, whither ye go over Jordan to possess it.

48 [P] And the LORD spake unto Moses that selfsame
 49 day, saying, Get thee up into this mountain of Abarim, unto mount Nebo, which is in the land of Moab, that is over against Jericho; and behold the land of Canaan, which I give unto the children of Israel for a possession:
 50 and die in the mount whither thou goest up, and be gathered unto thy people; as Aaron thy brother died in
 51 mount Hor, and was gathered unto his people: because

46. unto you: 'against you'; 'God's law is viewed as a testimony *against* human sin' (Driver).

which ye shall command: rather, 'in order that ye may charge' (iv. 10). Once more there is characteristic reference to the religious training of the young (vi. 7, &c.).

47. vain: Heb. 'empty' of practical bearing on life; to obey this law is to live in prosperity (cf. xxx. 20).

xxxii. 48-52. Moses is ordered to ascend Mount Nebo, there to die. He is to see from afar the Promised Land, but, because of his infidelity at Kadesh, is not to enter it. (A duplicate, perhaps editorial, of Num. xxvii. 12-14, P.)

48. that selfsame day: i. e. that of i. 3 (P).

49. Abarim: Heb. 'the Abarim,' meaning 'the regions beyond' (the Jordan); the word denotes 'the edge of the great Moabite plateau overlooking the Jordan valley, of which Mount Nebo was the most prominent headland' (E.B., 4).

mount Nebo: (Num. xxxiii. 47) called 'the top of Pisgah' in Deut. iii. 27 (D²), the two designations being editorially identified in xxxiv. 1 (q. v.).

50. thy people: here, probably, in the original sense of the word, 'thy father's kin,' as elsewhere (in this phrase) in P.

died in mount Hor: Num. xx. 22-9; the place signified is unknown.

ye trespassed against me in the midst of the children of Israel at the waters of Meribah of Kadesh, in the wilderness of Zin ; because ye sanctified me not in the midst of the children of Israel. For thou shalt see the land ⁵² before thee ; but thou shalt not go thither into the land which I give the children of Israel.

[R?] And this is the blessing, wherewith Moses the **33**

51. trespassed : 'acted unfaithfully': see Num. xx. 1-13 ; for the locality (Kadesh), see on i. 2 ; for the sin of Moses, on i. 37.

sanctified me not : the same verb (Kadash) is used in Num. xx. 12, with play on the place-name, Kadesh.

52. before thee : 'from a distance' ; cf. 2 Kings iv. 25, where R. V. renders the same word 'afar off.'

xxxiii. *The Blessing of Moses.* This poem is not incorporated into the narrative of Deuteronomy like the 'Song,' but depends simply on its superscription (xxxiii. 1) for its connexion with the book. Mosaic authorship is disproved, not only by the reference to Moses himself in verse 4, but by the assumption that the conquest of Canaan lies in the past (verses 27, 28) and by other features of the poem. It consists of an introduction (verses 2-5) which describes Yahweh's coming from Sinai, the gift of law and land, and the establishment of the kingdom ; of eleven longer or shorter eulogistic or sympathetic sayings about the eleven tribes, Simeon being omitted (verses 6-25) ; and of a conclusion (verses 26-9) emphasizing the providence of a unique God and the prosperity of a consequently unique people. In regard to the central portion, each tribe is characterized by some salient feature in its situation, character, or history, and the historical conditions at the time of its composition may consequently be inferred. Simeon has disappeared as a tribe (see on xviii. 1) ; Reuben (verse 6) is diminishing ; the prayer is offered that Judah may return to his people (verse 7). Levi is specially commended as a priestly community (verses 8-11) ; in Benjamin's land is Yahweh's sanctuary (verse 12) ; Joseph occupies the foremost place in the poem, the fertility of his territory and its military origin being emphasized (verses 13-17) ; Zebulun and Issachar are commercially prosperous (verses 18, 19) ; the trans-Jordanic territory of Gad appears to have been increased recently (verses 20, 21), whilst the northern position of Dan, Naphtali, and Asher, and the fertile territory of the two latter, are also noticed (verses 22-5). From these references it seems clear that the date of the poem must lie between the division of the kingdom, c. 930 B. C. (verse

man of God blessed the children of Israel before his death. And he said,
The LORD came from Sinai,

7) and the fall of the Northern Kingdom, 734-722 (verse 16); and within this period the prosperous reign of Jeroboam II (782-743) best corresponds with the general atmosphere of contentment and security (contrast xxxii. 1-43) in which the poem moves (so Kuenen, Moore, Steuernagel, Bertholet, and others; Dillmann and Driver prefer a date under Jeroboam I, soon after the division into two kingdoms had taken place). The central part of the poem appears, from its chief interests, to have been written in the Northern Kingdom, possibly (in view of verse 8 f.) by a Levite at some northern sanctuary. The introduction (verses 2-5) and conclusion (verses 26-9), whilst forming an effective setting for the 'blessings,' were originally, perhaps, an independent psalm, of later (post-exilic?) date (Steuernagel, Bertholet, Moore, *Oxf. Hex.*). This psalm describes Israel's deliverance (through a theophany) from the enemy, and its subsequent happy security. It must be admitted, however, that the separation of psalm from 'blessings' is not absolutely necessary, and the poem may well be read as a unity, which 'breathes from end to end a national spirit exalted by power and prosperity and unbroken by disaster' (Moore, *E.B.*, 1090). It should be compared throughout with the (earlier) 'Blessing of Jacob' (Gen. xlix).

xxxiii. 1. Editorial note, linking the poem to the context.

1. the blessing: cf. Joshua xiv. 13 (note) for the significance attached to such words; here deepened by the fact that a dying man speaks them (Gen. xxvii. 7).

the man of God: a name given to Moses in the title to Ps. xc, and in Joshua xiv. 6. Elsewhere a frequent designation of the prophet (e.g. 1 Sam. ix. 6).

xxxiii. 2-5. *Introduction.* Yahweh revealed Himself from the south for the people He loved, to whom He gave law and land, that He might rule them. (This seems to be the general meaning of the section, but the text is frequently corrupt and the details of interpretation uncertain.)

2. The opening verses form a theophany, such as is found in Judges v. 4 f. (Ps. lxxviii. 7 f.); Hab. iii. 3 f.: in each of these Yahweh comes up from His abode in the south, to intervene for His people.

Sinai: 'the mountain of God' (Exod. iii. 1), to which the giving of the law was assigned because of its previous sacredness (not vice versa). Yahweh says He has brought Israel unto

And rose from Seir unto them ;
 He shined forth from mount Paran,
 And he came from the ten thousands of ^a holy ones :
 At his right hand ^b was a fiery law unto them.
 Yea, he loveth the ^c peoples ;
 All ^d his saints are in thy hand :
 And they sat down at thy feet ;

3

^a Heb. *holiness*. ^b Or, *was fire, a law* Or, as otherwise read, *were streams for them* ^c Or, *tribes* ^d Or, *their holy ones*

Himself (Exod. xix. 4), in bringing the people to Sinai (cf. *Rel. Sem.*,² p. 118) ; Sinai is His abode on earth.

rose : i. e. like the sun, as the Hebrew verb denotes : cf. Hab. iii. 4.

Seir (ii. 1) . . . **Paran** (i. 1, place uncertain) ; perhaps named as indicating the route by which Yahweh comes from Sinai to Israel.

the ten thousands of holy ones : i. e. from the midst of the angels surrounding Him (1 Kings xxii. 19, &c.). But for 'holiness' (see R. V. marg., i. e. Kodesh) LXX has the place-name Kadesh (i. 2), which would give a better parallel with Paran ; and we ought probably to read 'from' (Dillmann) or 'to' (Wellhausen) 'Meribath-Kadesh' (xxxii. 51). The reading of the Hebrew text is responsible for the later belief (cf. Targum and LXX) that the law was ordained through angels (Acts vii. 53 ; Gal. iii. 19 ; Heb. ii. 2).

a fiery law unto them : this can hardly be a correct rendering, since 'a fire, a law' (R. V. marg.¹) yields no good sense, and supposes a Persian word to be used for 'law.' R. V. marg.² gives a (doubtful) rendering of a word made by combining those rendered 'fire' and 'law.' The text is corrupt, and numerous attempts at emendation have been made, of which Dillmann's 'a burning fire' has perhaps won most acceptance ('from his right hand').

3. the peoples : read, with LXX, 'his people,' since the reference must be to Israel, and the interpretation of R. V. marg. is without sufficient justification.

his saints : R. V. marg. applies the pronoun to Israel. Steuernagel follows Lucian's LXX in reading, 'in His hands' for 'in thy hand.'

And they sat down at thy feet : the rendering of the verb is based on a supposed Arabic cognate. But the words appear to

- Every one* ^a shall receive of thy words.
- 4 Moses commanded us a law,
An inheritance for the assembly of Jacob
- 5 And ^b he was king in Jeshurun,
When the heads of the people were gathered,
All the tribes of Israel together.
- 6 Let Reuben live, and not die ;
^c Yet let his men be few.
- 7 And this is *the blessing* of Judah : and he said,
Hear, LORD, the voice of Judah,
- ^a Or, *received* ^b Or, *there was a king*
^c Or, *And let not his men*

be corrupt, and the translation of the second half of this verse is very doubtful. Driver renders :

And they [followed] at thy foot,
Receiving of thy words.

4. inheritance : i. e. probably Canaan ; 'for' is supplied by R. V. to make a connexion.

5. he was king : i. e. Yahweh. R. V. marg. will most naturally refer to Saul.

Jeshurun : verse 26, xxxii. 15 (note).

xxxiii. 6-25. *The separate blessings on the eleven tribes (excluding Simeon).*

6. Reuben (the firstborn, Gen. xlix. 3) ; blamed in the Song of Deborah (Judges v. 15^b, 16) for absence from the conflict ; cursed by Jacob (Gen. xlix. 3, 4), and of little historical importance (settled east of Jordan, Joshua xiii. 15-23, but not mentioned in Mesha's inscription, c. 850). Here the hope is expressed that the tribe may not become wholly extinct.

Yet let his men be few : this is the only approach to a curse which the 'Blessing' contains. The alternative of R. V. marg. carries the negative of the first clause over into the second, but this is grammatically improbable (cf. Driver, p. 395).

7. And this is of Judah : probably, like the notes introducing all the blessings except that of Reuben, an editorial insertion, not belonging to the original poem.

Judah : settled in the south of Palestine (Joshua xv) ; not named in the Song of Deborah ; becoming of historical importance under David ; its military success and supremacy are praised in

And bring him in unto his people :

^a With his hands he contended ^b for himself ;

And thou shalt be an help against his adversaries.

And of Levi he said, 8

Thy Thummim and thy Urim are with ^c thy godly one,

Whom thou didst prove at Massah,

With whom thou didst strive at the waters of Meribah ;

^a Or, Let *his hands* be sufficient for him ^b Or, for them

^c Or, *him whom thou lovest*

the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. xlix. 8 f.). Here the poet prays for the reunion of Judah with his people (Israel) and for Judah's victory over enemies in some present need. The verse is important for the dating of the Blessing, since it presupposes the separation of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms, which took place through Jeroboam I (c. 930 ; 1 Kings xii. 20).

for himself: Hebrew 'for him,' leaving the reference uncertain (cf. R. V. marg.). Stade's conjecture, however (*G. V. I.*, i. p. 160), 'With thy hands contend for him' (making the line a prayer to Yahweh, like the rest of the verse), is very probably right, and has found frequent acceptance.

8. Levi: see note on xviii. 1 for the early history of this tribe, here already a priestly community.

Thy Thummim and thy Urim: the sacred lot, administered by the priest, probably giving a 'Yes' or 'No' in reply to inquiry. The passage best illustrating this practice is the LXX of 1 Sam. xiv. 41 : 'And Saul said, Yahweh, God of Israel, why hast thou not answered thy servant to-day? is the wrong in me or in Jonathan my son? Yahweh, God of Israel, give Urim; and if thus thou say, give to thy people Israel, give Thummim.' Cf. Exod. xxviii. 30 ; Lev. viii. 8 ; Ezra ii. 63.

with thy godly one: Hebrew 'for a man, thy kindly or pious one'; either the tribe, conceived as a person, or Moses (Aaron) as its representative.

Massah (Exod. xvii. 1-7), **Meribah** (Num. xx. 2-13): the O. T. narrative throws no light on the manner in which Levi was tested and striven with (or for); nor can the references to Moses and Aaron be said (representatively) to explain the present passage, which supposes Levi to have come out successfully from the ordeal.

- 9 Who said of his father, and of his mother, I have not
seen him ;
Neither did he acknowledge his brethren,
Nor knew he his own children :
For they have observed thy word,
And keep thy covenant.
- 10 They shall teach Jacob thy judgements,
And Israel thy law :
They shall put incense ^b before thee,
And whole burnt offering upon thine altar.
- 11 Bless, LORD, his substance,
And accept the work of his hands :
Smite through the loins of them that rise up against
him,

^a Heb. *in thy nostrils*.

9. Levi's renunciation of the ties of blood, in faithful observance of the priestly office. The reference is probably to the general impartiality and independence of worldly considerations expected of the priest, of which the incident recorded in Exod. xxxii. 27-9 will afford a particular illustration : cf. Lev. xxi. 11 ; 1 Sam. i. 28 (contrast Eli's partiality, ii. 29). The verbs should be rendered in the present tense in verses 9, 10.

thy covenant : Mal. ii. 4-9.

10. The function of the Levitical priest (the whole tribe : see on xviii. 1) is twofold : to give the oracles and other decisions (cf. xvii. 10 f. ; law = direction, teaching) of Yahweh, and to offer sacrifice.

incense : possibly in the earlier and more general meaning, 'smoke of sacrifice.' For the anthropomorphism of R. V. marg., cf. 1 Sam. xxvi. 19 (R. V. marg.) ; Gen. viii. 21, &c.

whole burnt offering : see on xiii. 16.

11. **his substance** : i. e. his possessions ; but 'strength' (which the Hebrew word originally means) is here preferable ; **the work of his hands** will be Levi's sacrificial acts.

Smite through the loins of : Hebrew 'smite as to the loins' round which is the girdle (Prov. xxxi. 17), and which are the seat of bodily strength (Nahum ii. 1 ; Ezek. xxix. 7 ; Ps. lxvi. 11, lxix. 23), trembling in the anguish of travail (Isa. xxi. 3) or fear (Nahum ii. 10). The particular reference to the (obscure) history

And of them that hate him, that they rise not again.

Of Benjamin he said, *Benjamin shall be as a lion.* 12

The beloved of the LORD shall dwell in safety by him ;

He covereth him all the day long,

And he dwelleth between his shoulders.

And of Joseph he said, *Joseph shall be as a fruitful vine.* 13

Blessed of the LORD be his land ;

For the precious things of heaven, for the dew,

of Levi is unknown ; some opposition to the priestly prerogatives (cf. Num. xvi, 1 Kings xii. 31) is in view. The martial figure has led some to suppose that the verse belongs to Judah, and should follow verse 7 ; but this transposition does not seem necessary.

12. Benjamin : the tribe of Saul and Jonathan ; celebrated, in the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. xlix. 27), for its martial character, as 'a ravening wolf' ; here appearing as a favourite son of Yahweh, even as of Jacob (Gen. xlv. 20), and called 'the beloved of Yahweh' (note its central position in the land, Joshua xviii. 11 f.).

by him : omit with versions.

He covereth : 'surroundeth,' i. e. Yahweh protects Benjamin.

he dwelleth between his shoulders : Yahweh dwells (in His sanctuary) amongst the mountains (for 'shoulders' in this sense, cf. Joshua xv. 8, xviii. 13) of Benjamin. The reference is usually taken to be to the temple at Jerusalem (see on Joshua xv. 8 : cf. Josh. xviii. 28). Others (e.g. Bertholet, thinking of the North Israelite origin of the poem) explain of the sanctuary at Bethel (Amos vii. 13).

13. Joseph : i. e. Ephraim and Manasseh (verse 17 : cf. Gen. xlviii. 5), to which tribes the most prominent place in the Blessing is here given (cf. Gen. xlix. 22-6, with which the present passage shows literary relationship). The prominence is natural in view of the historical importance of 'Joseph,' as the centre of the Northern Kingdom, in which, moreover, this poem probably originated (cf. verse 7). The blessings assigned to Joseph are those of fertile territory (verses 13-16) and of military prowess (verse 17). (In Gen. xlix. 23 f., Joseph has been hard pressed, but has prevailed.)

For the precious things : elsewhere 'choice fruits' (Song of Songs, iv. 13, 16, vii. 13) ; here of the natural gifts on which all fertility depends—sunshine, rain, and dew. Read 'from' instead of 'for' throughout ; these gifts are the source of blessing.

for the dew : more probably 'above,' as in the related passage,

- And for the deep that coucheth beneath,
 14 And for the precious things of the fruits of the sun,
 And for the precious things of the growth of the
 moons,
 15 And for the chief things of the ancient mountains,
 And for the precious things of the everlasting hills,
 16 And for the precious things of the earth and the
 fulness thereof,
 And the good will of him that dwelt in the bush :
 Let *the blessing* come upon the head of Joseph,
 And upon the crown of the head of him ^a that was
 separate from his brethren.
 17 ^b The firstling of his bullock, majesty is his ;
 And his horns are the horns of the ^c wild-ox :

^a Or, *that is prince among*

^b Or, *His firstling bullock*

^c See Num. xxiii. 22.

Gen. xlix. 25 (cf. Gen. xxvii. 39), which gives a better contrast with 'beneath' in the next line.

the deep that coucheth beneath : i. e. 'the water under the earth' (iv. 18, note), personified as a crouching monster, like the Babylonian Tîamat (Jastrow, *Bab. Ass. Rel.*, p. 411), with which name the Hebrew word for 'deep' (*tehôm*) is connected.

14. the growth of the moons : 'the produce of the months,' i. e. of successive seasons.

15. for the chief things : 'from the top' (Heb. 'head'); the 'hill country of Ephraim' (Joshua xvii. 15) is in view, whose very summits are to yield their tribute.

16. the goodwill of him that dwelt in the bush : Exod. iii. 2-4 ; see above on verse 2 for the force of 'dwelt.' 'Good-will' = favour (verse 23), the noun corresponding to 'accept' in verse 11.

that was separate from his brethren : the Heb. word (*nazîr*) denotes one separated religiously (consecrated), as in the meaning 'Nazarite,' or as a 'prince' (Lam. iv. 7, R.V. 'nobles'); hence the alternative of R. V. marg., which is preferable here. The last two lines occur in Gen. xlix. 26.

17. his firstling bullock (R. V. marg.) ; i. e. Ephraim (Gen. xlviii. 13-20).

the wild-ox (Job xxxix. 9-12) : a type now extinct (Driver, note, p. 407).

With them he shall ^a push the peoples all of them, *even*
the ends of the earth :

And they are the ten thousands of Ephraim,
And they are the thousands of Manasseh.

And of Zebulun he said,

18

Rejoice, Zebulun, in thy going out ;

And, Issachar, in thy tents.

They shall call the peoples unto the mountain ;

19

There shall they offer sacrifices of righteousness :

For they shall suck the abundance of the seas,

And the hidden treasures of the sand.

And of Gad he said,

20

^a Or, *gore*

push (1 Kings xxii. 11) : with reference to the military strength of Ephraim (cf. Ps. xxii. 21, xcii. 10).

all of them, &c. : better as a parallel clause, 'Together the ends of the earth,' i. e. remote peoples.

And they (bis) : i. e. the horns ; but read, with the versions, 'they' (of the Josephites in general) in the first instance.

18. Zebulun and Issachar : the blessing of commercial prosperity.

thy going out : a phrase denoting general activity (xxviii. 6), here probably of the maritime occupations of Zebulun (Gen. xlix. 13), which must have had an outlet to the sea, in spite of Joshua xix. 10 f., which defines an inland territory : cf. Judges v. 18.

in thy tents : i. e. at home (Joshua xxii. 4 note) : cf. Gen. xlix. 14, 15, where Issachar is blamed for lack of energy. The contrast here may be merely poetical.

19. call the peoples : the reference is probably to religious festivals in connexion with some mountain sanctuary (Tabor? Carmel?), with which fairs were joined, as at Mecca (Stade, *G.V.I.*, i. 171). To these other neighbouring peoples (e. g. the Phoenicians) would come. The tenses here should be frequentatives rather than futures : 'they call,' &c.

suck the abundance of the seas : see on verse 18 (Zebulun's fishing and sea-carrying trade).

the hidden treasures of the sand : possibly Issachar's manufacture of glass, for which sand from the neighbourhood of 'Akko was much used : Josephus, *The Jewish War*, ii. 10. 2 : see the art. 'Glass' in *D.B.*

20. Gad : settled east of Jordan (Joshua xiii. 24-8) ; charac-

- Blessed be he that enlargeth Gad :
 He dwelleth as a lioness,
 And teareth the arm, yea, the crown of the head.
 21 And he ^a provided the first part for himself,
 For there was ^b the lawgiver's portion reserved ;
 And he came ^c *with* the heads of the people,
 He executed the justice of the LORD,
 And his judgements with Israel.
 22 And of Dan he said,
 Dan is a lion's whelp,
 That leapeth forth from Bashan.
 23 And of Naphtali he said,

^a Or, *chose* Heb. *saw*.

^b Or, *a ruler's portion*

^c Or, *to*

terized in Gen. xlix. 19 as victorious over assailants ; famous for warriors (1 Chron. xii. 8 f.).

he that enlargeth Gad : i. e. Yahweh (cf. Gen. ix. 27). There may be a reference to the recovery of territory lost in the Syrian wars (2 Kings xiv. 25 f.).

as a lioness : cf. Gen. xlix. 9 ; Ezek. xix. 2 f. ; Num. xxiii. 24.

21. the first part : the territory of Gad being amongst the first to be occupied by Israel (Num. xxxii. 1 f.).

the lawgiver's portion : ' the commander's portion ' (cf. R. V. marg. ; Judges v. 14, R. V. ' governors ') ; possibly with reference to the qualities of the territory as rich pasture-ground.

And he came. Cf. Joshua i. 12 f., where the Gadites join in the conquest of the rest of Canaan.

(with) : this emendation of R. V. is probably the best.

Justice . . . judgements (ordinances) : i. e. he did his duty in the conquest of Canaan, according to the revealed purpose of Yahweh. The precise reference may be either to the discharge of obligation to assist the other tribes (Num. xxxii. 31 f.) or to the execution of Yahweh's judgement over the Canaanites (Gen. xv. 16 : cf. Exod. xxiii. 31-3).

22. Dan : here compared to the whelp of a Bashan lion, as in Gen. xlix. 17 to a serpent surprising horse and rider by the way. The reference may be to the surprise attack made by the Danites on Laish, when migrating from their original territory (Joshua xix. 47 : cf. Judges xviii. 27 f.) ; the name Laish, meaning ' lion,' may also have suggested the use of the particular figure.

23. Naphtali : (Joshua xix. 32-9) elsewhere compared with ' a hind let loose ' (Gen. xlix. 21).

O Naphtali, satisfied with favour,
And full with the blessing of the LORD :
Possess thou the ^a west and the south.

And of Asher he said, 24
Blessed be Asher ^b with children ;
Let him be acceptable unto his brethren,
And let him dip his foot in oil.
Thy ^c bars shall be iron and brass ; 25
And as thy days, so shall thy ^d strength be.

There is none like unto God, O Jeshurun, 26
Who rideth upon the heaven for thy help,
And in his excellency on the skies.
The eternal God is *thy* dwelling place, 27

^a Or, sea ^b Or, *above sons* ^c Or, shoes ^d Or, rest
Or, security

satisfied with favour: i. e. that of Yahweh (verse 16, 'good will'), with reference to the fertility of the district (Upper Galilee) occupied by this tribe.

the west: rather (R. V. marg.) 'the sea' (of Gennesareth), on the west of which the territory of Naphtali extended southwards.

24. Asher: here and in Gen. xlix. 20 the meaning of the name ('fortunate,' Gen. xxx. 13) is in view. The territory of Asher lay nominally along the sea-coast, between Carmel and Phoenicia (Joshua xix. 24-31). See map for portion actually occupied.

with children: R. V. marg. is preferable (cf. Judges v. 24).

dip his foot in oil: Galilee was famous for its olive-trees.

25. bars: or bolts, with reference to defence against enemies, possibly in view of Asher's position in the far north.

strength: so the versions, but the Hebrew word is unknown. May Asher's strength to resist its enemies never decline.

26. Conclusion. Israel's God is unique, the abiding source of its security and prosperity, and of its victory over enemies.

like unto God, O Jeshurun: so the Hebrew vowel-points; but we should doubtless read with the versions, 'like the God of Jeshurun.' Cf. verse 5, xxxii. 15.

rideth, &c. Pss. xviii. 10 f., lxviii. 33; Isa. xix. 1; note that the theophany of verses 2-5 is here resumed.

excellency: 'exaltation' or 'dignity.'

And underneath are the everlasting arms :
 And he thrust out the enemy from before thee,
 And said, Destroy.

28 And Israel dwelleth in safety,
 The fountain of Jacob alone,
 In a land of corn and wine ;
 Yea, his heavens drop down dew.

29 Happy art thou, O Israel :
 Who is like unto thee, a people saved by the LORD,
 The shield of thy help,
 And that is the sword of thy excellency !
 And thine enemies shall ^a submit themselves unto
 thee ;

And thou shalt tread upon their high places.

34 [P] And Moses went up from the plains of Moab unto

^a Or, *yield feigned obedience*

everlasting arms : which do not grow weary (cf. Hos. xi. 3, &c.).

28. The fountain of Jacob : the succession of generations, streaming forth (cf. Isa. xlviii. 1 ; Ps. lxxviii. 26) in isolated security ('alone').

dew : cf. Gen. xxvii. 28 ; the dew is heavy and of great importance in Palestine, because of the summer drought.

29. A unique people through a unique God.

saved : i. e. as the context shows, in battle, with no moral or spiritual reference.

submit themselves : read as R. V. marg.

tread, &c. : see on xxxii. 13.

xxxiv. *The Death of Moses*. Moses, after viewing the Promised Land from the top of Pisgah, dies there according to Yahweh's decree. His unique personality and place in the history of Israel.

1. the plains of Moab : these 'steppes' are named in Num. xxxiii. 48 as the final station in the wanderings of Israel. 'It was probably the well-watered glen on the north of the Neba-Siaghah ridge, the present Wady 'Ayûn Musa, which Israel descended and camped in' (*H.G.H.L.*, p. 564). The term 'steppes'—characteristic of P²—here denotes the eastern part of the Jordan plain, to the north of the Dead Sea, opposite Jericho.

mount Nebo, to the top of Pisgah, that is over against Jericho. [JE] And the LORD shewed him all the land of Gilead, unto Dan; and all Naphtali, and the land of Ephraim and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah, unto the ^a hinder sea; and the South, and the Plain of the valley of Jericho the city of palm trees, unto Zoar. And the LORD said unto him, This is the land which 4

^a That is, *western*.

unto mount Nebo, to the top of Pisgah: cf. xxxii. 49: the former name of the mountain appears to be that of P, the latter that of D² (iii. 27) here combined editorially. The headland in question is usually identified with that which now bears the name 'Neba,' nearly opposite the north end of the Dead Sea, and between Heshbon and Medeba (G. A. Smith, in *H.G.H.L.*, p. 563, from whom is taken the following description of the actual view from the summit): 'All Western Palestine is in sight; only the hither side of the Jordan Valley is still invisible, and north and south the view is hampered by the near hills.' [From a second summit] 'The whole of the Jordan Valley is now open to you, from Engedi, beyond which the mists become impenetrable, to where, on the north, the hills of Gilead seem to meet those of Ephraim. The Jordan flows below: Jericho is visible beyond. Over Gilead, it is said, Hermon can be seen in clear weather, but the heat hid it from us.'

shewed him all the land: not 'the land of Gilead'; all that follows 'land' is in apposition to it (i. e. 'even Gilead,' &c.). **Gilead** is the land due north of Pisgah, as far as the R. Hieromax (iii. 10); **Dan** (Joshua xix. 47) lies at the foot of Hermon (beyond the range of actual vision).

2. Naphtali in the north of Canaan, beyond the Sea of Galilee (xxxiii. 23).

the hinder sea: i. e. the Mediterranean (xi. 24 and note), not actually visible from Neba.

3. the South: see on i. 7.

the Plain: Heb. 'the Round,' i. e. of the Jordan Valley north of the Dead Sea. With this, **the valley of Jericho** is in apposition (delete 'of'); on the latter, see on Joshua ii. 1.

Zoar: site uncertain; it may have been at either the north or south end of the Dead Sea: cf. *H.G.H.L.*, p. 505 f., where the latter is preferred.

4. which I swear: see on i. 8: cf. Exod. xxxiii. 1.

According to the Jewish commentator Rashi (ed. Berliner,

I swear unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, saying, I will give it unto thy seed: I have caused thee to see it with thine eyes, but thou shalt not go over
 5 thither. So Moses the servant of the LORD died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the LORD.
 6 And ^a he buried him in the valley in the land of Moab over against Beth-peor: but no man knoweth of his
 7 sepulchre unto this day. [P] And Moses was an hundred and twenty years old when he died: his eye was not
 8 dim, nor his natural force abated. And the children of Israel wept for Moses in the plains of Moab thirty
 9 days: so the days of weeping in the mourning for Moses were ended. And Joshua the son of Nun was full of the spirit of wisdom; for Moses had laid his hands upon

^a Or, *he was buried*

p. 362) the vision granted to Moses included the episodes of Israel's future history; so that Moses saw Samson and Gideon, Deborah and David, and all the national heroes taking up his unfinished task of leadership, at their appointed place and time.

5. the servant of Yahweh: Exod. xiv. 31; Num. xii. 7 f. (JE), and often in Joshua (RP).

according to the word of Yahweh. The Hebrew for 'word' here is 'mouth,' which explains Rashi's expressive comment, 'by a kiss' (the Rabbinic legend being that Moses died by Yahweh's kiss).

6. he buried him: i. e. Yahweh buried Moses (R. V. marg. = one buried him, a less probable rendering here).

in the valley, &c.: cf. iii. 29 (note).

A legend with reference to this event (taken from the apocryphal 'Assumption of Moses') is mentioned in Jude 9.

7. an hundred and twenty years old: as in xxxi. 2. This traditional number is an inference from a life of three generations (Exod. vii. 7: cf. Acts vii. 23, 30).

nor his natural force abated: Heb. 'his moisture had not fled'; not the lymph (whose exudation is indeed less in age than in youth), which was unknown to the ancients, but some more primitive conception of 'life-juice,' whose absence might be suggested by the wrinkled skin of old age.

8. thirty days: so for Aaron, Num. xx. 29 (P).

9. the spirit of wisdom: (Isa. xi. 2); Hebrew thought ascribed

him: and the children of Israel hearkened unto him, and did as the LORD commanded Moses. [R^D] And ¹⁰ there hath not arisen a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom the LORD knew face to face; in all the ¹¹ signs and the wonders, which the LORD sent him to do in the land of Egypt, to Pharaoh, and to all his servants, and to all his land; and in all the mighty hand, and in ¹² all the great terror, which Moses wrought in the sight of all Israel.

any remarkable characteristic of mind or body to indwelling spirit (*ruach*). In this case it is mediated by the physical contact of the hands of Moses (Num. xxvii. 18-23).

10. a prophet: cf. xviii. 15. In that promised line of prophets, says the Deuteronomic redactor, the first has been unequalled; he held direct intercourse (Exod. xxxiii. 11; Num. xii. 6-8) with Yahweh.

11, 12. in: i. e. in respect of the following points (he was unequalled). The two verses were probably added by a later writer, since they involve a different and more external point of view from that of verse 10, and the grammatical connexion is loose. For the language, see iv. 34, vi. 22, vii. 19, xi. 2, xxvi. 8, xxix. 2.

THE BOOK OF JOSHUA

INTRODUCTION

THE BOOK OF JOSHUA

I. CONTENTS AND RELATION TO THE PENTATEUCH.

1. THE Book of Deuteronomy is a sermon; the Book of Joshua the preacher's illustrations collected into an appendix. It describes the Conquest and Division of the Promised Land from the standpoint of a Deuteronomic preacher, six or seven centuries after the event. It reflects actual history (§ iii) so far as this seemed to enforce the doctrines of that seventh-century revival of religion, whose chief monument is the Book of Deuteronomy. But it draws implicit inferences as to the course of events, which are not distinguished from the use of earlier records by any explicit indication.

2. The name carried by this book, as by the Books of 'Samuel,' is taken from one of its prominent characters, and does not imply the authorship of Joshua. There is no intrinsic or extrinsic ground for connecting the book as a written narrative with Joshua or any of his contemporaries (on xxiv. 26 see the note). As the 'Book of Joshua,' it narrates events in the history of Israel from the death of Moses (i. 1 : cf. Deut. xxxiv. 9) to the death of Joshua himself (xxiv. 29 : cf. Judges i. 1). These events fall into two groups, coinciding with the two halves of the book; viz. (A) the Conquest of Canaan (chaps. i-xii), and (B) the Division of the Land, with a related appendix (chaps. xiii-xix, xx-xxiv).

(A) Joshua, as the authorized successor of Moses, receives the promise of similar divine aid (i. 1-9), whereupon he prepares for the passage of the Jordan (i. 10, 11), and enlists the help of the tribes already settled on its eastern side (i. 12-18). Part of this preparation is to send spies into Jericho, the chief city opposite; these men find shelter in the house of Rahab,

who also enables them to escape when their presence is suspected (chap. ii). On receipt of the information brought, Israel crosses the Jordan dryshod, through the miraculous withdrawal of its waters, and a suitable memorial is erected at Gilgal, the first camp west of the Jordan (chaps. iii, iv). Here, also, the males of Israel are circumcised, and the Passover celebrated (v. 1-12). Joshua sees in a vision the captain of Yahweh's host (v. 13-15), and is instructed as to the capture of Jericho (vi. 1-5). Accordingly, the ark is carried in solemn procession, and with armed escort, round the walls of Jericho, for seven days, daily, and on the seventh day, seven times. Then, at the final blast of the priests' trumpets, and at the shout of the people, the walls of Jericho fall down, and the city is taken (vi. 6-20), to be 'devoted,' except for Rahab and her family, to Yahweh (vi. 21-7). But this first miraculous success is followed by the repulse, with loss, of an attack on Ai; when Joshua, and the representatives of Israel, accuse Yahweh of abandoning His people, they are told that this is due to the secret reservation from Yahweh of part of the spoil of Jericho, and are bidden to find the culprit (vii. 1-15). This is done, by the test of the sacred lot, and Achan, the thief, and his family are stoned (with their possessions) and burnt (vii. 16-26). The help of Yahweh is now renewed, and Ai is taken by the stratagem of apparent flight, and an ambush; its spoil, in this case, falls to Israel (viii. 1-29). The scene then abruptly changes to Shechem, in territory as yet unconquered, where an altar is built, and a solemn ceremonial observed, according to the command of Moses (viii. 30-5). We return from this digression, with equal abruptness, to the camp at Gilgal, whither comes a deputation from Gibeon, seeking alliance with Israel, and obtaining it by the false representation that they live in a far country; but when the ruse employed is discovered, the would-be allies are degraded to subjects (chap. ix). The alliance itself provokes an attack on Gibeon from a confederation of five kings of South Palestine, headed by Adoni-zedek of Jerusalem; Israel marches to the relief of the besieged city, and puts the assailants to disastrous flight, by the miraculous aid of Yahweh (x. 1-15). The five kings are taken and killed (x. 16-27). There follows a list of six cities

taken and destroyed (x. 28-39), and a summary statement of the complete conquest of South Palestine (x. 40-3). A similar coalition of four northern kings, headed by Jabin of Hazor, is defeated by the Waters of Merom, and their subjects are similarly 'devoted' to Yahweh (xi. 1-15). Thus, in two great battles, the whole territory has been conquered (xi. 16-20), not excluding that of the Anakim (xi. 21, 22), and the way is clear for its division (xi. 23). A list is given of thirty-one conquered kings (chap. xii).

(B) The second half of the book opens with a review of neighbouring territory, as yet unconquered, and with the command of Yahweh to Joshua to allot the land to the tribes as yet unsettled (xiii. 1-7). An account is given of the territory east of Jordan (xiii. 8-14), already assigned to Reuben (xiii. 15-23), to Gad (xiii. 24-8), and to half Manasseh (xiii. 29-31). As Moses had distributed this eastern territory, so Eleazar and Joshua distribute the western to the nine and a half remaining tribes, excluding Levi (xiii. 32-xiv. 5). An appeal made by Caleb for the territory of Hebron promised him by Yahweh is granted by Joshua (xiv. 6-15). The borders of the territory of Judah are defined (xv. 1-12). Caleb conquers Hebron, and Othniel conquers Debir (xv. 13-19). There follows a catalogue of the cities belonging to Judah (xv. 20-63), and the definition of the territory of Ephraim and Manasseh (xvi. 1-xvii. 13), some exceptions to complete occupation being noted. Ephraim and Manasseh complain that their territory is too small, and are encouraged to acquire more (xvii. 14-18). Before we pass to the territory assigned to the remaining seven tribes, we hear of a solemn assembly at Shiloh, from which a commission of twenty-one are sent to register the territory, divided subsequently by lot (xviii. 1-10). The territory of Benjamin is defined (xviii. 11-20) and its cities catalogued (xviii. 21-8). The Simeonites inherit certain cities in the midst of the territory of Judah (xix. 1-9), Zebulun (xix. 10-16), Issachar (xix. 17-23), Asher (xix. 24-31), Naphtali (xix. 32-9), and Dan (xix. 40-6) are given their portions, though the Danites subsequently migrate to the extreme north (xix. 47, 48). Here the account of the division of the land concludes, with a reference to Timnath-

Serah as Joshua's own share (xix. 49-51). There follows what may be called an appendix, narrating the appointment of six cities of refuge (chap. xx) and of the Levitical cities (chap. xxi), the dismissal of those from eastern tribes who had helped in the conquest of western territory (xxii. 1-8), a dispute between eastern and western tribes over the building of an altar (xxii. 9-34), and two farewell addresses of Joshua, distinct and parallel (chaps. xxiii, xxiv), the second culminating in a covenant between Israel and Yahweh made at Shechem (xxiv. 25-8). The book closes with notes on the deaths of Joshua and Eleazar, and on the burial of Joseph's bones at Shechem (xxiv. 29-33).

3. From the above review it is plain that the Book of Joshua is closely connected with the Pentateuch, whose proper sequel it forms. This applies in general to the attainment of that Promised Land which Moses might view from Pisgah only; but it applies also to many of the details (e. g. viii. 30 f.), for which reference must be made to the notes. Further, the literary sources¹ of the book are the direct continuation of those of the Pentateuch, and for this reason scholars speak of the 'Hexateuch,' since no line is drawn for literary criticism at the death of Moses. As a whole, however, the Book of Joshua was never incorporated with the 'Books of Moses,' which stood for the Jew on a unique level of inspiration, and constitute the first of the three canonical sections into which the Hebrew scriptures are divided. 'Joshua' belongs to the second of these, and to its first half, known as the 'former prophets,' the other members of this sub-section being Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings. This different classification is reflected in a different treatment of its text; the Greek translation of the LXX (which varies more from the Hebrew than in the case of any book of the Pentateuch, except Exod. xxxv-xl) shows that the text was not finally fixed before 200 B. C.²

¹ i. e. the documents J, E, P.

² Cf. Dillmann, *N. D. J.*, p. 690.

II. SOURCES AND COMPOSITION.

1. The evidence for regarding the Book of Joshua as not written by a single hand, or in a single generation, is of the same character as that which has led to the analysis of the Pentateuch into several component documents¹; it arises partly from the subject-matter, and partly from the language employed. The book contains duplicate and independent accounts of the same event, as when Joshua gives two parallel farewell addresses (chaps. xxiii, xxiv). Within what lies before us as a single narrative there are sometimes clear traces of the combination of two differing accounts; thus, in the story of the passage of the Jordan, Joshua is said to have set up twelve memorial stones, both in the bed of the river (iv. 9) and also at Gilgal (iv. 20), whilst the people who have crossed the river once in iii. 17 are said to cross it again in iv. 11. Sometimes two statements directly exclude each other: the king of Hebron who has been killed in x. 26 is again killed in x. 37, whilst Hebron itself, there said to have been taken, and to have had all its inhabitants killed, is still in the hands of the enemy in xiv. 12, and has to be taken by Caleb in xv. 14. It is less easy to illustrate the linguistic evidence for the division of sources, especially since its real force is cumulative, and the quotation of isolated words or phrases, as characteristic of a particular writer, is apt to misrepresent the weight of the argument. But when we find (xxii. 30) the word 'congregation' applied to Israel, which occurs in 124 previous instances, and always amongst the priestly writers grouped under the letter P, the probability is sufficiently great that it has been written in the 125th case by a writer of the same school. A broader test of the same kind may easily be applied. Let any one read with attention to language and expression Joshua i. 3-9 (cf. Deut. xxxi. 1-8), and

¹ For these, and the general meaning of the symbols J, E, and P, see the *Century Bible*, 'Genesis,' pp. 22-40, or, more briefly, p. 53 of the present volume.

then Joshua xxi. 1-42 (cf. Num. xxxv. 1-8), and he can hardly fail to realize something of the difference between Deuteronomistic and priestly writers respectively.

2. The careful reader of the first half of the Book of Joshua (chaps. i-xii) will notice that it opens and closes with passages closely akin in language and subject-matter to the Book of Deuteronomy (i. 3-9, 12-18; xi. 10-xii. 24). He will also find similar strongly-marked writing occurring at intervals throughout the intervening chapters, either in expansions of the context (ii. 10, 11) or in the addition of independent sections (viii. 30-5). The same kind of writing is found in the second half of the book also, though to a much less extent (e. g. xxi. 43-xxii. 8). These passages are denoted in the present edition by the symbol R^D , because their predominant character is that of a redactor (R), writing in the spirit and language of the Book of Deuteronomy (D). Some of these passages may, of course, draw their facts from documents prior to the Deuteronomic age, but, for the purposes of exact historical research, they are to be regarded as statements made at various times after the publication of Deuteronomy, in 621 B. C.

3. The second half of the book is in strong contrast with the first. Its central feature (chaps. xv-xix) consists of formal definition of territory, and unrelieved catalogues of cities. Further, there is an account of cities of refuge (chap. xx), and of Levitical cities (chap. xxi), both of which connect with previous ordinances of the Priestly Code (Num. xxxv). We notice also that the division of territory is not made by Joshua alone, but by Eleazar the priest and Joshua (xiv. 1, xvii. 4, xix. 51, xxi. 1). This prominence given to priestly interests, and this detailed attention to statistical information,¹ are well-known marks of the priestly writers, designated by the symbol

¹ Note also the formal superscriptions and subscriptions to sections (xiii. 32, xiv. 1 f., xviii. 1, xix. 51) and to sub-sections (xiii. 23, &c.).

P. Their interest was much less in simple and descriptive narrative, except when some institution, &c., had to be described or explained; the greater part of the narrative of this document appears to have been an abstract or connecting outline. Accordingly, it need not surprise us that, whilst the document P forms the distinctive feature of the second half of this book, dealing with the division of the land, it has little to contribute towards the narrative of the conquest in the first half. But, where it does appear there, it is characteristically to describe the celebration of the first Passover in Canaan (v. 10-12), and to emphasize the leading part of 'the princes of the congregation' (a priestly phrase) in the negotiations with the Gibeonites (ix. 17-21). The systematic document thus utilized in the compilation of the book is of post-exilic origin, and contains strata of various dates.

4. The remainder of the Book of Joshua (excluding the parts assigned to R^D and P, as above) is of quite different character from the editorial expansions and summaries of the Deuteronomist, and the tabulated information of the priestly writer. It gives us the account of the Conquest of Canaan, and describes in vivid and picturesque narrative the adventures of the spies in Jericho, the miraculous dry-shod journey across the bed of the Jordan, the vision seen by Joshua, the capture of Jericho, the story of Achan's theft, and its disastrous sequel, first for Israel, and then for himself, the renewed attempt on and victory over Ai, the Gibeonite incident, the battle of Gibeon, in which the southern coalition was overthrown, and (much more briefly) the overthrow of the northern kings. These incidents form the bulk of the narrative in the first half of the book. They resemble the JE narrative of the Pentateuch, and it is natural to regard them as the continuation of that document. That the document from which they are taken is itself composite is indicated by the narrative itself, as may be seen from the accounts of Rahab (chap. ii), the passage of the

Jordan (chaps. iii, iv), the fall of Jericho (chap. vi), the capture of Ai (chap. viii), the ruse of Gibeon (chap. ix). But it is much more difficult to analyse this document into its component parts than is the case with the similar composite narrative of the Pentateuch. The narrative has passed through the hands of three editors, R^{JE}, R^D, and R^P, who appear to have used greater editorial freedom than in regard to the more sacred Mosaic records. Some scholars, therefore, whilst recognizing the duality of source, do not attempt a further analysis of JE into J and E (so Driver, G. A. Smith), whilst others (Holzinger, Bennett, *Oxf. Hex.*) think such an analysis is practicable. In the present edition, the above narrative has been indicated simply as JE, though attention is called in the notes to some of the evidence for composite authorship. But in the second half of the book the position is different. We have a series of remarkable fragments (xiii. 13, xv. 14-19, 63, xvi. 10, xvii. 11-18, xix. 47) which are closely related to, and sometimes verbally identical with, passages in the first chapter of Judges. These give us a different conception of the occupation of territory from that adopted by the book as a whole, and appear to form part of the narrative of J, the earliest of the sources underlying the book. Besides these important fragments, to be considered in the next section, we have the second farewell address of Joshua (xxiv. 1-25) belonging to E, as does the first to R^D.

5. The main stages in the compilation of the Book of Joshua were probably the following. The narratives of J and E, as combined by their Redactor (R^{JE}), were used by R^D, though J may have been used apart from the combined form. R^D selected, expanded, and added to the narrative of the Conquest, so producing a Deuteronomistic Book of Joshua. The third redactional stage came when this was combined with P by the Priestly Redactor, R^P. In this last the procedure appears to have been the opposite to

that adopted for the Pentateuch. 'The chronological articulation from Gen. i to Deut. xxxiv. 7 is here entirely lacking . . . P is inserted into JED, whereas in the Pentateuch JED is fitted into P.'¹

III. THE HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST.

1. The literary elements of the Book of Joshua now lie before us in broad outline, viz. the work of J, of the united JE, of the editorial R^D, and of P. What light does this analysis throw on the chief problem raised by the book—the history of the conquest of Canaan by Israel?

(a) The fragments of J (see *Intro.* ii. 4) are admittedly our oldest document. They tell us that Geshur and Maacath were not occupied by Israel (xiii. 13); that Caleb, acting independently, took Hebron, and his ally, Othniel, took Debir (xv. 14–19); that Jerusalem remained in the hands of the Jebusites (xv. 63), Gezer was not occupied (xvi. 10), nor the line of important cities from Beth-shean across the plain of Jezreel westwards (xvii. 11–13). The Josephites complain of being crowded into too narrow a territory by the Canaanites (xvii. 14–18); Dan, similarly oppressed, seeks new territory in the extreme north (xix. 47). Thus the earliest account we possess of the Conquest suggests that it was but very partially achieved, and that, so far as it was achieved, it was the result of independent tribal warfare, rather than of a national invasion, with conclusive campaigns under a single leader. This impression is corroborated by the additional portions of the same document which are

¹ *Oxford Hexateuch*, ii. p. 315. The relation of the Priestly and Deuteronomistic redactions is disputed: for another view, see G. A. Smith in *D.B.*, ii. p. 784. Steuernagel argues for a different view of the whole process; he thinks that a priestly redactor added the JE portions to an already existent combination of D and P.

found in Judges i. 1—ii. 5. Here we read of an independent invasion by Judah and Simeon (verses 1-7), of Kenite movements from Jericho (verse 16), of a Josephite occupation of the Bethel district (verses 22-6), and of various tribal settlements among the Canaanite population (verse 27 f.). Thus the history of the Conquest according to J is that 'the tribes invade the land singly, or as they are united by common interest; they fight for their own hand with varying success, or settle peaceably among the older population. The larger cities with few exceptions, the fertile valleys, and the seaboard plain remain in the hands of the Canaanites' (Moore, *Judges*, pp. 7, 8). This agrees with the subsequent course of events. 'All that we know of the history of Israel in Canaan in the succeeding centuries confirms the representation of Judges that the subjugation of the land by the tribes was gradual and partial; that not only were the Canaanites not extirpated, but that many cities and whole regions remained in their possession; that the conquest of these was first achieved by the kings David and Solomon' (*I. c.*).

(b) The combined narrative of JE, drawn probably from the later strata of these writers, agrees with J in representing Jericho as the door of entrance into Canaan, but differs in describing the entrance of Israel as that of a united body under the leadership of Joshua. Joshua is represented as stepping into the position previously held by Moses. This narrative also describes the two great battles in the south and north, which are said to have thrown open the land to Israel. In the closing chapter, taken chiefly from E, the conquest of Canaan is represented as complete (cf. verses 12 (LXX) and 18).

(c) A further expansion of the facts stated in the earliest source is found in the editorial work of R^D. Not only does he emphasize, probably by his selection, and certainly by his summaries, the completeness of the conquest of Canaan (e.g. xi. 23: cf. the treatment of

earlier sources for the two great battles, chaps. x, xi), but he is specially eager to show how completely the Deuteronomic command to exterminate the peoples of Canaan (Deut. xx. 16, 17) is obeyed by Joshua (viii. 2, 27, ix. 24, x. 25, 28-43, xi. 10 f., xxi. 43 f.). It is the work, both selective and productive, of this writer, which has given its distinctive colouring to the Book of Joshua, and which justifies the opening words of this Introduction. The religious and moral evils of a Canaanite environment had produced in the original author of Deuteronomy the conviction that the population of Canaan *ought* to have been destroyed at the outset. In the historical school nurtured on the principles of Deuteronomy there grew the conviction that this population *must* have been destroyed by so faithful a servant of Yahweh as was Joshua.

(d) The narrative of P, as already stated, is concerned almost wholly with the division of the conquered land, though its presupposition is that the conquest has been complete (xviii. 1). It reflects in its geography the post-exilic conditions; 'the information given is full and detailed with regard to Judah and Benjamin, the main settlement of the restored community. Galilee, the other settlement of the Jews of the Restoration, is described with less completeness and clearness, under Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, and Naphtali. The account of Ephraim and Western Manasseh, i. e. the Samaritan territory, is extremely meagre and confused' (Bennett, *S.B.O.T.*, p. 76). The division of the land by lot, though unhistoric on the scale represented by P, finds a point of contact in the oldest source (xvii. 14; Judges i. 1-3); the points of attack of the different invading parties, and therefore their ultimate territory, may well have been decided by the sacred lot (see on vii. 14).

2. The Book of Joshua gives us no information as to the time of the invasion of Canaan by Israel, though we may infer (see on xiv. 10) that its narrative extends over

five or seven years from the death of Moses. It is natural to ask whether there is any external evidence as to the date of this invasion. This question admits of an affirmative answer since the discovery of the Tell-el-Amarna Letters in 1887, and of the 'Israel' Inscription at Thebes in 1896. The latter of these may be named first, as it appears to give us a fixed date before which the Israelites had entered Canaan¹. The inscription gives a list of Syrian vassals of the Egyptian king Merneptah, the son of Ramses II, about the middle of the thirteenth century before Christ. In this list appears the name 'Israel,' in such a connexion that settlement in Palestine seems already presupposed, though Israel is by no means the ruling people of Palestine. This gives us therefore the date 1250 as the latest possible for the entrance of Israel into Canaan. The evidence of the Tell-el-Amarna Letters is less easy to summarize, or even to utilize with certainty. These 300 or more tablets preserve correspondence of Amenophis III and IV of Egypt with various kings of Western Asia, and especially with officials and vassals in Palestine. The latter gives us a picture of Palestine about 1400 B.C., and the disorder revealed shows how easy it must have been for invading tribes to secure an entrance. The Egyptian sovereignty over Syria was threatened both by such invasion and by civil war, which contributed to it, since certain of the vassal kings seem to have hired foreign mercenaries, e.g. Bedouin tribes, against their rivals. In particular, there are letters from Abdchiba, of

¹ A convenient account of the Tell-el-Amarna Tablets is given by Bennett and Haupt, in *S.B.O.T.*, pp. 47-55, or in Niebuhr's *Die Amarna-Zeit (Der alte Orient)*. The 'Israel' Inscr. is discussed in detail by Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme* (1906), p. 222 f.; the whole topic is reviewed both by him and by Steuernagel, *Die Einwanderung der israelitischen Stämme in Kanaan*, p. 113 f., to which books the above note is chiefly indebted.

Jerusalem, complaining that 'the Chabiri are occupying the King's cities.' These Chabiri appear in various parts of Palestine, and it has been proposed to see in them the general group of 'Hebrews' (i. e. 'people from the other side'), 'tribes playing the same part as did the Israelites later' (Winckler, *Die Keilinschriften*,³ p. 198). The pressure of these Chabiri on Syria is of much wider extent than that described in the Biblical records of Israel's invasion, and many scholars contend that there are not sufficient points of contact to justify the identification. But there is little in the *earliest* accounts of Israel's invasion which would fail to fit into the general background of the movements of the Chabiri. The Tell-el-Amarna period of about 1400 B. C. appears to form the *terminus a quo*, as the Israel Inscription of 1250 B. C. forms the *terminus ad quem*, for Israel's settlement in Palestine.

3. The traditional 'twelve tribes' (see on iv. 20), whose geographical settlement occupies so large a place in this book¹, are the product of later theory, working on territorial data, rather than the reflection of early conditions (see *E. B.*, c. 5204 ; *D. B.*, iv. p. 810). 'Israel, as it invaded Palestine, was a loose confederation of kindred tribes. . . . It is, however, quite uncertain how far the tribes which we find in Canaan under the monarchy correspond to tribes which existed before the Conquest' (Bennett, *l. c.*). There is still much division of opinion amongst scholars as to the original tribal elements and combinations. Wellhausen's reconstruction is, perhaps, best worth stating. He argues from the division of the twelve sons of Jacob

¹ The discussion of the geographical data of the Book of Joshua belongs to a full Commentary, such as Dillmann's, and to the geographical expert, and no attempt has been made in the notes to deal with its difficult problems in any adequate way. It may be noted here that one of the most essential helps to the study of 'Joshua' is G. A. Smith's *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (cited as *H. G. H. L.*). With this should be named Buhl's *Geographie des alten Palästina*.

(Gen. xxxv. 23-26) amongst wives and concubines, and from the birth of Benjamin in Palestine (Gen. xxxv. 18), that the invading tribes fell into two groups, viz. the Sons of Leah (Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun) and Joseph, the Son of Rachel; the latter formed the nucleus, and was joined by the former group in the district south of Palestine (*Geschichte*, p. 16). These tribes dispossessed the Amorites, and settled for some time east of Jordan, till the lack of union amongst the Canaanites invited further aggression westwards. In the first attempt, made by Judah, Simeon, and Levi, the two latter were destroyed; Judah alone gained a footing in the hill country west of the Dead Sea, its losses being subsequently made good by union with other clans from the south. The second attempt was made chiefly by the Josephites, headed by Joshua, who overthrew the Canaanites at Gibeon. The acquired territory was occupied by Benjamin, Ephraim, and Manasseh, with Shiloh as their sacred centre. A further victory of Joshua opened up the north for occupation (*l.c.*, pp. 36, 37).

4. The place of Joshua, as a historical person, in such a reconstruction as that just outlined, is that of an Ephraimite leader (note his burial-place, xxiv. 30). Later tradition credited him with the leadership of all Israel, but as a matter of history his place in the northern group corresponds with that of Caleb in the southern. 'The original kernel of the history of Joshua is a memory of the battles of the House of Joseph for the hills of Ephraim' (Holzinger, p. xv). Against this it has been argued (Stade, *G.V.I.*, i. pp. 64 f., 136 f.,) that the figure of Joshua is wholly the creation of a later age: 'the Joshua legend, unknown to J, and implying an entirely unhistorical conception of the course of events in the conquest of the land, is clearly formed on the lines of the Moses legend' (p. 64). It is true that the part played by Joshua becomes a greater one in the later sources, but

hardly that he is unknown to the earlier¹. The moderate position of Kuenen still seems that which the evidence supports: 'The Joshua of the book that bears his name, the leader of the united Israel, the conqueror and divider of all Canaan, is certainly not a historical character, but neither is he a pure creation out of nothing²'. We can still, therefore, with a good conscience, join Ben Sirach (Ecclus. xlv. 1 f.) in including Joshua in the list of famous men to be praised, as 'valiant in war,' and 'made great,' if not 'that he might give [all] Israel their inheritance,' yet as one who 'fought in the sight of the Lord, for he followed after the Mighty One.'

IV. RELIGIOUS IDEAS.

1. The actual events transacted on the stage of the Book of Joshua are, as we have seen, like those belonging to the origins of other nations, dim and obscure. But just as the historical plays of Shakespeare, however anachronistic, reveal our common humanity in the light of Elizabethan nationalism, so the traditions of Israel's dim past, though stamped with the thought and life of a later generation, make a positive contribution to religion. What is of little importance for the political may be of great value for the religious history. The Book of Joshua can illustrate for us some important phases in the development of the religion of Yahweh.

2. Throughout the book we meet with various survivals from the cruder and more primitive stages of thought, out of which the ethical theism of Judaism and Christianity have emerged. There are references to blood-revenge (cities of refuge, chap. xx), to circumcision and the passover (chap. v), to the ban ('devotion' to Yahweh by destruction,

¹ Cf. G. A. Smith's criticism of Stade in *D.B.*, ii. p. 786 b, though the inference there drawn from Joshua xvii. 14-18, that Joshua appears in J 'as the arbiter over all Israel,' seems without justification.

² *The Hexateuch* (E. T.), p. 237.

passim), and to the place of sacred stones and trees in Semitic religion (xxiv. 26), of which topics some notice has been taken in the Introduction to Deuteronomy. We may further note some survivals of primitive magic, incorporated into the religion of Yahweh. The waters of Jordan withdraw from the sacred feet of the priests (iii. 15, iv. 18), and it is the presence of the sacred ark that keeps back the river (iv. 10). No one familiar with primitive procedure can miss the significance of the seven-fold manipulation of the ark in regard to Jericho (chap. vi), though, of course, the magical ceremonies are here blended with higher ideas of dependence on Yahweh. The placing of the foot on the necks of captured kings (x. 24) probably belongs to the very wide field of symbolic magic, which accomplishes or renews an event by its representative performance. The power of the spoken word in oath (ii. 17 f.), treaty (ix. 18 f.), curse (vi. 26), or blessing (xiv. 13, cf. xxiv. 10), is not to be confused with the ethical aspect of these transactions. Most striking of all is the narrative of Achan's theft, with its implication that what is made taboo brings peril to the whole community in contact with it. No more forcible example than this could be given of the two leading characteristics of ancient, as distinct from modern, psychology, viz. the psychical influence of physical objects, and the non-individualistic or corporate idea of personality (the whole family exterminated, just as the whole of Israel suffered).

3. It need hardly be said that, even in the earliest sources of the book, such conceptions are far transcended. The best example of this is supplied by Joshua's vision of the captain of Yahweh's host (v. 13-15). 'It is a noble illustration of the truth that, in the great causes of God upon the earth, the leaders, however supreme and solitary they seem, are themselves led. There is a rock higher than they; their shoulders, however broad, have not to bear alone the awful burden of responsibility. The sense of supernatural conduct and protection, the consequent

reverence and humility, which form the spirit of all Israel's history, have nowhere in the O. T. received a more beautiful expression than in this early fragment' (G. A. Smith, *D.B.*, ii. p. 788).

4. The religious spirit and attitude of the Deuteronomistic redaction are clearly brought out in the first chapter (verses 5-7), viz. the assurance of the Divine presence and aid where there is perfect obedience. The emphasis falls throughout on the complete and absolute obedience of Joshua to the commands of Moses, which are the commands of Yahweh (xi. 15), and on the conviction that obedient Israel's cause is also Yahweh's: 'What shall I say, after that Israel hath turned their backs before their enemies? . . . and what wilt thou do for thy great name?' (vii. 8, 9). Even the dark shadow of exterminating wars, which falls on this writer's contribution, is thrown by a leader who stands in the blazing light of Yahweh's 'holiness.'

5. The religious teaching in the priestly source (P), the latest of all, is less direct, as is natural from the character of its contents. But the significance of the division of the land by the sacred lot must not be overlooked. 'Each tribe is convinced that its possession is bestowed upon it by Yahweh' (Steuernagel, p. 152). The zeal for the sanctuary of Yahweh (xxii. 9-34), which the priestly writers inherit and develop from the Deuteronomic reform, has its noble side, as well as its historically demonstrated peril of formalism and hypocrisy. The stones of the temple are not without their own glory, because One came at last to make men see more to admire in the self-sacrifice of the woman who dropped her all into its treasury.

NOTES ON LITERATURE

THE commentaries used in the preparation of the notes to this edition are those of:—

DILLMANN (*Numeri, Deuteronomium, und Josua*²), 1886.

BENNETT (*The Book of Joshua*, in *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, cited as *S.B.O.T.*), 1899.

STEUERNAGEL (*Deuteronomium und Josua*), 1900.

HOLZINGER (*Das Buch Josua*), 1901.

The English reader who desires to gain a clear idea of the literary composition of the book is recommended to use Bennett's *Joshua*, where the different sources are indicated by the use of different colours. Further details as to literary criticism will be found in the *Oxford Hexateuch* (Carpenter and Battersby), 1900. There is no large modern commentary available in English; but that promised by G. A. Smith in the *International Critical Commentary* will doubtless become the chief authority in English. Meanwhile, his general view of the book may be seen in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible* (vol. ii. pp. 779-88); with this may be compared the more advanced critical discussion by Moore, in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (vol. ii. c. 2600-2609). The subject-matter of Joshua is, of course, discussed in all the larger histories of Israel, as well as in numerous special monographs, dealing with the origins of Israel, of which one of the most recent is Meyer's *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme* (1906).

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

(see p. 53).

(Where Bennett, Dillmann, Holzinger and Steuernagel are cited without further specification, the reference is to their commentaries on Joshua named above.)

THE BOOK OF JOSHUA

REVISED VERSION WITH ANNOTATIONS

THE BOOK OF JOSHUA

[JE] Now it came to pass after the death of Moses the ¹ servant of the LORD, that the LORD spake unto Joshua the son of Nun, Moses' minister, saying, Moses my ² servant is dead ; now therefore arise, go over this Jordan, thou, and all this people, unto the land which I do give to them, even to the children of Israel. [R^D] Every place ³ that the sole of your foot shall tread upon, to you have I given it, as I spake unto Moses. From the wilderness, ⁴ and this Lebanon, even unto the great river, the river Euphrates, all the land of the Hittites, and unto the

I-XII. THE CONQUEST OF CANAAN.

i. 1-9. Yahweh charges Joshua to take up the work of Moses (with the same help from Himself), and to lead Israel into the Promised Land.

1. after the death of Moses: Deut. xxxiv. 5 f.; for the place where this charge was given, see note on Deut. i. 1.

Joshua: previously mentioned in Exod. xvii. 9-14, xxiv. 13, xxxii. 17, xxxiii. 11; Num. xi. 28; Deut. xxxi. 14, 23 (all E); Deut. i. 38, iii. 21, 28, xxxi. 3, 7 (D²); Num. xiii. 16, xiv. 6, 30, 38, xxvi. 65, xxvii. 18, 22, xxxii. 12, 28, xxxiv. 17; Deut. xxxiv. 9 (P). The name apparently means 'Yahweh is deliverance,' and in its Greek form becomes **Jesus** (Acts vii. 45; Heb. iv. 8). On the Joshua of history, see Introd. III.

3. as I spake unto Moses: Deut. xi. 24 f., from which the words in verse 3 f. are quoted: see the note there. This chapter contains numerous references to, or echoes from, Deuteronomy, and is clearly by a Deuteronomistic writer, incorporating older material in verses 1, 2, 10, 11.

4. all the land of the Hittites: not in the original passage, nor here in LXX; perhaps a gloss. The name 'Hittites' is here used loosely (cf. Gen. xxiii. 10; Ezek. xvi. 3), like that of the

great sea toward the going down of the sun, shall be your
 5 border. There shall not any man be able to stand before
 thee all the days of thy life: as I was with Moses, so I
 will be with thee: I will not fail thee, nor forsake thee.
 6 Be strong and of a good courage: for thou shalt cause
 this people to inherit the land which I swore unto their
 7 fathers to give them. Only be strong and very courage-
 ous, to observe to do according to all the law, which
 Moses my servant commanded thee: turn not from it too
 the right hand or to the left, that thou mayest ^a have good
 8 success whithersoever thou goest. This book of the law
 shall not depart out of thy mouth, but thou shalt meditate
 therein day and night, that thou mayest observe to do
 according to all that is written therein: for then thou
 shalt make thy way prosperous, and then thou shalt
 9 ^a have good success. Have not I commanded thee? Be
 strong and of a good courage; be not affrighted, neither
 be thou dismayed: for the LORD thy God is with thee
 whithersoever thou goest.

^a Or, *deal wisely*

‘Canaanites.’ The Hittite Empire proper lay between the
 Euphrates and the Orontes in North and North-East Syria
 (2 Kings vii. 6; *E.B.*, 2096).

5. **fail**: ‘drop’ (Deut. iv. 31, xxxi. 6, 8), or, possibly, as in Josh
 x. 6 (let drop the hand from).

6. Deut. i. 38, xxxi. 7; for the oath of Yahweh (frequently
 named in Deuteronomy), Gen. xxii. 16 f.

7. Deut. v. 32, xxix. 9; **only** specifies rigorous obedience as
 the condition of success, a main principle of the writer.

the law: omit with LXX, supported here by the Hebrew
 itself.

8. The devotion to the law of Deuteronomy, in speech and
 thought (cf. Ps. i. 2, 3), enjoined on kings (Deut. xvii. 19) as essen-
 tial to success, is here required of Joshua; the verse ‘lays
 down the programme for the rigorously Deuteronomistic conduct
 of Joshua’ (Dillmann).

[JE] Then Joshua commanded the officers of the 10 people, saying, Pass through the midst of the camp, and 11 command the people, saying, Prepare you victuals; for within three days ye are to pass over this Jordan, [R^D] to go in to possess the land, which the LORD your God giveth you to possess it.

And to the Reubenites, and to the Gadites, and to the 12 half tribe of Manasseh, spake Joshua, saying, Remember 13 the word which Moses the servant of the LORD commanded you, saying, The LORD your God giveth you rest, and will give you this land. Your wives, your little ones, 14 and your cattle, shall abide in the land which Moses gave you beyond Jordan; but ye shall pass over before your brethren armed, all the mighty men of valour, and shall help them; until the LORD have given your brethren rest, 15 as *he hath given* you, and they also have possessed the land which the LORD your God giveth them: then ye shall return unto the land of your possession, and possess it, which Moses the servant of the LORD gave you beyond Jordan toward the sunrising. And they answered Joshua, 16 saying, All that thou hast commanded us we will do, and

i. 10, 11. Joshua orders food to be prepared for the passage of the Jordan.

10. **officers**: see notes on Deut. xx. 5, 9.

11. **victuals**: as in ix. 11, where R.V. has 'provision.' The use of this Hebrew word and the reference to 'three days' are characteristic of E.

i. 12-18. Joshua reminds the tribes already settled east of Jordan that they are to assist in the conquest of the west; which they profess their readiness to do, promising obedience to him as to Moses.

12 f. Deut. iii. 18-20: cf. Num. xxxii.

14. **beyond Jordan**: i. e. from the standpoint of a later age: cf. Deut. i. 1.

15. **then ye shall return**: as recorded in xxii. 1-8.

and possess it: omit with LXX, supported by the Hebrew.

- 17 whithersoever thou sendest us we will go. According as we hearkened unto Moses in all things, so will we hearken unto thee : only the LORD thy God be with thee, 18 as he was with Moses. Whosoever he be that shall rebel against thy commandment, and shall not hearken unto thy words in all that thou commandest him, he shall be put to death : only be strong and of a good courage.
- 2 [JE]. And Joshua the son of Nun sent out of Shittim two men as spies secretly, saying, Go view the land, and Jericho. And they went, and came into the house of an 2 harlot whose name was Rahab, and lay there. And it

ii. 1-24. Joshua sends two spies into Jericho, who lodge with the harlot Rahab. She hides them when the authorities suspect their presence. She tells the spies that she has heard of their God, and believes in His power ; as a reward for saving them, she asks that she and her relatives may be spared when the city is taken. This the men swear, and give her a token to distinguish her house. At her advice, they escape their pursuers by waiting in the mountains for three days, after which they return safely, and report their tidings to Joshua.

This narrative belongs to JE (apart from the expansion of R^D in verses 10, 11), and shows signs of its composite origin (see *Intro.*, II. 4). Bennett's analysis is as follows : verses 1-9 (JE), 10-11 (R^D), 12-14 (J), 15-16 (E), 17 (JE), 18-21 (J, except 'which thou didst let us down by,' JE), 22-4 (E).

There appear to be doublets in verses 3, 12, 13, and 18, whilst verse 15 interrupts the secret conversation in an improbable way.

1. **Shittim** : iii. 1 ; Num. xxv. 1, xxxiii. 49 (Abel Hashittim, 'meadow of the acacia trees'), the last halting-place of Israel ; in the Jordan Valley opposite to Jericho ; usually identified with Kefrein.

Jericho : the 'Palm City' (Deut. xxxiv. 3 ; Judges i. 16, iii. 13 ; 2 Chron. xxviii. 15), in the Jordan Valley, about a mile from the mountains leading up to Judah, five miles west of the river, and rather more north of the Dead Sea. For a review of the history of Jericho, see G. A. Smith, *H.G.H.L.*, pp. 266-8 ; for a description of its ancient fertility, Josephus, *The Jewish War*, iv. c. 8, § 3.

the house of an harlot : chosen as affording a pretext for their presence.

was told the king of Jericho, saying, Behold, there came men in hither to-night of the children of Israel to search out the land. And the king of Jericho sent unto Rahab, 3 saying, Bring forth the men that are come to thee, which are entered into thine house: for they be come to search out all the land. And the woman took the two men, and 4 hid them; and she said, Yea, the men came unto me, but I wist not whence they were: and it came to pass 5 about the time of the shutting of the gate, when it was dark, that the men went out: whither the men went I wot not: pursue after them quickly; for ye shall overtake them. But she had brought them up to the roof, and 6 hid them with the stalks of flax, which she had laid in

Rahab: vi. 17-25; not elsewhere named in O.T.; praised for her works (in helping the spies), James ii. 25, for her faith (verse 9 f.), Heb. xi. 31: cf. Matt. i. 5, where she figures in the genealogy of Jesus Christ. Rabbinical tradition makes her the ancestress of eight prophets and priests, including Jeremiah, and even asserts that Joshua married her, when she had become a proselyte (Lightfoot, *Horae Hebraicae*, on Matt. i. 5). Her deeds are honoured by Patristic writers also (see on verse 18).

3. the king of Jericho: the existence of many such local 'kings' in Canaan at this period is confirmed by the Tell-el-Amarna Letters (Introd., III. 2).

4. hid them: Hebrew 'hid him,' emended by R. V. with LXX; J or E may have spoken of one spy only.

5. The Hebrew is more graphic: 'the gate was for shutting, in the dark, and the men went forth.'

6. the roof: i. e. the flat roof of the Eastern house, from which the Philistines looked down on blind Samson (Judges xvi. 27); where Saul slept, as Samuel's guest (1 Sam. ix. 25, R. V. marg.); from which David, as he walked, saw Bathsheba (2 Sam. xi. 2); where religious ceremonies were performed (Neh. viii. 16; Jer. xix. 13; Zeph. i. 5); and whither men withdrew, like Peter, for prayer (Acts x. 9). For safety, the law of Deuteronomy requires it to be protected with a parapet (xxii. 8).

stalks of flax: i. e. stalks, two or three feet long, not yet beaten out, but exposed to dry. Their fibres were used for the manufacture of linen, whose antiquity is shown by its use in mummy wrappings (see Post, in *D.B.* s. v. 'Flax').

7 order upon the roof. And the men pursued after them the way to Jordan unto the fords: and as soon as they which pursued after them were gone out, they shut the
 8 gate. And before they were laid down, she came up unto
 9 them upon the roof; and she said unto the men, I know that the LORD hath given you the land, and that your terror is fallen upon us, and that all the inhabitants of the
 10 land melt away before you. [R^D] For we have heard how the LORD dried up the water of the Red Sea before you, when ye came out of Egypt; and what ye did unto the two kings of the Amorites, that were beyond Jordan,
 11 unto Sihon and to Og, whom ye utterly destroyed. And as soon as we had heard it, our hearts did melt, neither did there remain any more spirit in any man, because of you: for the LORD your God, he is God in heaven above, and
 12 on earth beneath. [JE] Now therefore, I pray you, swear unto me by the LORD, since I have dealt kindly with you, that ye also will deal kindly with my father's house, and

7. the fords: (Judges iii. 28) of which there are several, linking Jericho with Gilead and Moab (*H.G.H.L.*, p. 266).

9 f. Rahab is represented as acquainted not only with the name 'Yahweh' (R. V. the LORD), but also with the successes already won by Israel. In verses 10, 11 her words are amplified by the Deuteronomic redactor, as the change in style clearly shows. With verse 9, cf. Exod. xv. 14-16 (JE), and Deut. ii. 25, xi. 25.

melt away: i. e. in a psychical sense, of terror; but the Hebrew word means rather 'shake,' 'quiver,' like waves (so Ges.-Buhl, Siegfried-Stade, s. v. *mug*; cf. the Arabic *maja*, of the sea).

10. Exod. xiv. 15 f.; Num. xxi. 21-35; cf. Deut. ii. 24 f., iii. 1 f.

utterly destroyed: 'devoted,' Deut. ii. 34, iii. 6, &c.

neither did there remain any more spirit: Hebrew, '*ruach* no longer stood,' i. e. maintained itself. The phrase is peculiar, and differs somewhat from that in v. 1 (cf. 1 Kings x. 5), though meaning the same.

he is God, &c.: quoted from Deut. iv. 39 (q. v.), with omission of 'there is none else.'

12. a true token: i. e. a trustworthy sign: possibly the 'scarlet thread' of verse 18.

give me a true token: and that ye will save alive my ¹³ father, and my mother, and my brethren, and my sisters, and all that they have, and will deliver our lives from death. And the men said unto her, Our life ^a for yours, ¹⁴ if ye utter not this our business; and it shall be, when the LORD giveth us the land, that we will deal kindly and truly with thee. Then she let them down by a cord ¹⁵ through the window: for her house was upon the town wall, and she dwelt upon the wall. And she said unto ¹⁶ them, Get you to the mountain, lest the pursuers light upon you; and hide yourselves there three days, until the pursuers be returned: and afterward may ye go your way. And the men said unto her, We will be guiltless of this ¹⁷ thine oath which thou hast made us to swear. Behold, ¹⁸ when we come into the land, thou shalt bind this line of scarlet thread in the window which thou didst let us down by: and thou shalt gather unto thee into the house thy father, and thy mother, and thy brethren, and all thy father's household. And it shall be, that whosoever shall ¹⁹ go out of the doors of thy house into the street, his blood

^a Heb. *instead of you to die.*

14. The promise is made conditional on her continued secrecy; for its fulfilment, see vi. 22-5.

15. A picture of such a house (on the present wall of Damascus) is given by Bennett, p. 58. Cf. Acts ix. 25. The 'window' would probably be a small opening, closed by lattice-work (2 Kings xiii. 17).

16. the mountain: better 'hill-country.' Its caves would afford hiding-places, and the circuit to the west would throw the pursuers off their track.

17. We will be guiltless of: 'we are exempt from' (Gen. xxiv. 8, 41), i. e. if the three following conditions (use of the sign, gathering of relatives, concealment of spies' mission, verses 19, 20) be not kept.

18. scarlet thread: in early Christian writers, this became an evident prophecy of the Atonement; e. g. Clement of Rome, 1 Cor. xii, and the note in Jacobson, *Pat. Apost., ad loc.* See on verse 1.

shall be upon his head, and we will be guiltless : and whosoever shall be with thee in the house, his blood shall
 20 be on our head, if any hand be upon him. But if thou utter this our business, then we will be guiltless of thine
 21 oath which thou hast made us to swear. And she said, According unto your words, so be it. And she sent them away, and they departed : and she bound the scarlet
 22 line in the window. And they went, and came unto the mountain, and abode there three days, until the pursuers were returned : and the pursuers sought them throughout
 23 all the way, but found them not. Then the two men returned, and descended from the mountain, and passed over, and came to Joshua the son of Nun ; and they told
 24 him all that had befallen them. And they said unto Joshua, Truly the LORD hath delivered into our hands all the land ; and moreover all the inhabitants of the land do melt away before us.
 3 And Joshua rose up early in the morning, and

19. blood : conceived by early thought to be charged with mysterious energy, and to be quasi-automatic in its working (Deut. xxi. 8) ; it will be perilous to the spies only if shed within the house of Rahab. See p. 24.

24. Omit truly ; for 'melt away,' see on verse 9.

chaps. iii, iv. *The Passage of the Jordan.* From Shittim, the Israelites move to the Jordan, which they are to cross, headed by the ark carried by priests. Joshua promises, and is promised, a display of Divine power (iii. 1-8). He declares that the waters of Jordan shall withdraw from the feet of the priests ; this comes to pass, all Israel passing over on dryground (iii. 9-17). At the bidding of Yahweh, Joshua orders twelve chosen men to take twelve stones from the Jordan bed, where the ark-bearers stood, and to erect them on the western shore as a memorial of the event. This is done, and in addition, Joshua sets up twelve stones in the Jordan bed itself, the ark meantime standing there. Forty thousand fighting men of the tribes already settled accompany the people (iv. 1-14). Joshua now commands the ark to be carried up from the Jordan bed (regardless of verse 11). When this is done, the

they removed from Shittim, and came to Jordan, he and all the children of Israel; and they lodged there before they passed over. And it came to pass after ² three days, that the officers went through the midst of the camp; and they commanded the people, saying, ³ When ye see the ark of the covenant of the LORD your God, and the priests the Levites bearing it, then ye shall remove from your place, and go after it. [P] Yet there ⁴ shall be a space between you and it, about two thousand cubits by measure: come not near unto it, that ye may know the way by which ye must go; for ye have not passed this way heretofore. [JE] And Joshua said unto ⁵ the people, Sanctify yourselves: for to-morrow the LORD

waters return (iv. 15-19). The twelve stones from the Jordan bed are set up at Gilgal to link the crossing in future memory with that of the Red Sea (iv. 20-24).

The composite character of these two chapters is clearly shown by the duplication of subject-matter, viz. (a) passage of the people: cf. iii. 17^b, iv. 1^a (R^D) with iv. 10^b (JE); (b) passage of the ark: cf. iv. 11^b (JE) with iv. 15-17 (P); (c) erection of stones: cf. iv. 3^b, 8^b, 20 (JE; stones taken out of the river-bed, and set up at Gilgal) with iv. 9 (R^D; stones set up in the river-bed); (d) explanation of the stones: cf. iv. 6, 7 (JE) with iv. 21-24 (R^D).

1. **lodged:** Heb. 'passed the night.'

2. Cf. i. 10, 11 (E), to which this verse possibly belongs, as verse 1 to J.

3. **the ark of the covenant:** Deut. x. 8; an earlier phrase is 'the ark of Yahweh' (iii. 13), a later, 'the ark of the testimony' (iv. 16). Bennett (p. 59) calls attention to the absence of any reference to the Tabernacle and its elaborate furniture (of which there was no conception when the narrative of JE was written, i. e. ninth to eighth century).

the priests the Levites: see on Deut. xviii. 1.

4. **two thousand cubits** = 1,000 yards; the verse is probably the addition of a priestly redactor, to emphasize the holiness of the ark: cf. Num. xxxv. 5 (P), where the Levitical city stands within a square, each side of which measures 2,000 cubits. The 'Sabbath day's journey' (Acts i. 12), of the same extent, was probably deduced as included in the 'place' of Exod. xvi. 29 (E.B., 4175, note 4).

5. **Sanctify yourselves:** i. e. make yourselves ceremonially

- 6 will do wonders among you. And Joshua spake unto the priests, saying, Take up the ark of the covenant, and pass over before the people. And they took up the ark
7 of the covenant, and went before the people. [R^D] And the LORD said unto Joshua, This day will I begin to magnify thee in the sight of all Israel, that they may know that, as I was with Moses, so I will be with thee.
8 [JE] And thou shalt command the priests that bear the ark of the covenant, saying, When ye are come to the brink of the waters of Jordan, ye shall stand still in Jordan.
9 And Joshua said unto the children of Israel, Come hither, and hear the words of the LORD your God.
10 And Joshua said, Hereby ye shall know that the living God is among you, [R^D] and that he will without fail drive out from before you the Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the Hivite, and the Perizzite, and the Girgashite, and
11 the Amorite, and the Jebusite. [JE] Behold, the ark of

clean : vii. 13 ; Exod. xix. 10, 14, 15 (E), where the (longer) purification includes the washing of garments and abstention from sexual intercourse. Cf. Num. xi. 18, and for the ideas involved, *E.B.* s. v. 'Clean and Unclean.' The general idea is that connexion with 'holy' persons, things, or events is specially perilous unless due measures of psychical insulation be taken.

7. Yahweh promises to confirm His commission to Joshua (i. 5, 17), by which Joshua speaks as His prophet (verse 9 f.).

8. **brink** : see on verse 15.

10. **the living God** : Hos. i. 10 ; Ps. xlii. 2, lxxxiv. 2 : cf. Deut. v. 26, &c., and the oath, 'As Yahweh liveth' (Judges viii. 19, and often), or 'As I live' (Deut. xxxii. 40). The activity of Yahweh among His people is presented as the ground of future confidence.

drive out : 'dispossess.' For this Deuteronomistic grouping of the seven peoples, see Deut. vii. 1.

11. **the covenant** : interpolated, here and in verse 14, like covenant of Yahweh' in verse 17, as is shown by the grammar of the Hebrew sentences.

the covenant of the Lord of all the earth passeth over before you into Jordan. Now therefore take you twelve ¹² men out of the tribes of Israel, for every tribe a man. And it shall come to pass, when the soles of the feet of ¹³ the priests that bear the ark of the LORD, the Lord of all the earth, shall rest in the waters of Jordan, that the waters of Jordan shall be cut off, even the waters that come down from above; and they shall stand in one heap. And it came to pass, when the people removed ¹⁴ from their tents, to pass over Jordan, the priests that bare the ark of the covenant being before the people; and when they that bare the ark were come unto Jordan, ¹⁵ and the feet of the priests that bare the ark were dipped in the brink of the water, (for Jordan overfloweth all its banks all the time of harvest,) that the waters which ¹⁶

the Lord of all the earth: i. e. Adōn, not Yahweh. Note the difference in type of R. V., which uses LORD to express Yahweh. Cf. verse 13; Mic. iv. 13; Zech. iv. 14, vi. 5; Ps. xcvi. 5. Probably the phrase is here interpolated by R^D (cf. Deut. x. 14).

12. This must have been preceded in the original narrative by the corresponding command of Yahweh, iv. 1^b-3; it is resumed by iv. 4 f.

13. The miracle is to be mediated by the holiness of the priests' feet, from which the waters will withdraw: **in one heap**, i. e. as a wall, or dam.

14. removed: 'started off'; the original meaning of the Heb. verb is to 'pull up' the tent-pegs, preparatory to a migration.

15. overfloweth: 1 Chron. xii. 15; Eccles. xxiv. 26, 'full as Jordan in the days of harvest.' The Jordan valley widens to fourteen miles at Jericho. Within this valley lies a deeper bed, varying to a mile in width, full of semi-tropical vegetation, and marking the wider flow of the river in annual flood. 'The river itself is from ninety to one hundred feet broad, a rapid, muddy water with a zig-zag current. The depth varies from three feet at some fords to as much as ten or twelve' (*H.G.H.L.*, pp. 482-6). The fact that the river is at its harvest (April) flood is stated here to increase the marvel of the miracle.

16. Above the place of crossing the water dams itself; below,

- came down from above stood, and rose up in one heap, a great way ^aoff, at Adam, the city that is beside Zarethan: and those that went down toward the sea of the ^bArabah, even the Salt Sea, were wholly cut off: and the people
- 17 passed over right against Jericho. And the priests that bare the ark of the covenant of the LORD stood firm on dry ground in the midst of Jordan, [R^D] and all Israel passed over on dry ground, until all the nation were passed clean over Jordan.
- 4 And it came to pass, when all the nation were clean passed over Jordan, [JE] that the LORD spake unto
- 2 Joshua, saying, Take you twelve men out of the people, out of every tribe a man, and command ye them, saying,
- 3 Take you hence out of the midst of Jordan, out of the place where the priests' feet stood firm, twelve stones,

^a Another reading is, *off from*.

^b See Deut. i. 1.

it is conceived as running dry to the Dead (here called the Salt) Sea. (The saltiness, due to evaporation without outlet, is said to be five times that of the ocean: *H.G.H.L.*, p. 501.)

a great way off: specifying the distance of the dammed water from the crossing; whilst the Hebrew editorial reading ('off from Adam,' cited R. V. marg.) notes the extent of the waters; the former is preferable.

Adam, the city that is beside Zarethan: not named elsewhere. 'An echo of this name may very plausibly be found in Telled-Dāmīeh, and Jisr ed-Dāmīeh, names of a hill and bridge at the confluence of the Jabbok (*Zerkā*) with the Jordan, some sixteen miles in a direct line above the ford opposite Jericho' (*E.B.*, 58). Zarethan has not been identified (see note in *Century Bible* on 1 Kings vii. 46).

17. clean over: i. e. completely, an old usage retained from A. V.; Heb. 'had finished to pass over.' The continued presence of the ark in the river-bed gives the people confidence against the wall of waters, and is probably conceived as actually holding the waters in check (see on verse 13 and cf. iv. 7).

iv. 2, 3. Cf. iii. 12 (originally following these verses).

3. stood firm: the latter word is grammatically awkward, and probably comes from iii. 17; the Heb. word for 'stood' can refer to either past or future, but in the present arrangement of the

and carry them over with you, and lay them down in the lodging place, where ye shall lodge this night. Then 4 Joshua called the twelve men, whom he had prepared of the children of Israel, out of every tribe a man: and 5 Joshua said unto them, Pass over before the ark of the LORD your God into the midst of Jordan, and take you up every man of you a stone upon his shoulder, according unto the number of the tribes of the children of Israel: that this may be a sign among you, that when your 6 children ask in time to come, saying, What mean ye by these stones? then ye shall say unto them, Because the 7 waters of Jordan were cut off before the ark of the covenant of the LORD; when it passed over Jordan, the waters of Jordan were cut off: and these stones shall be for a memorial unto the children of Israel for ever. And the children of Israel did so as Joshua commanded, 8 and took up twelve stones out of the midst of Jordan, as the LORD spake unto Joshua, according to the number of the tribes of the children of Israel; and they carried them over with them unto the place where they lodged, and laid them down there. [R^D] And Joshua set up 9 twelve stones in the midst of Jordan, in the place where the feet of the priests which bare the ark of the covenant

narrative, it must, of course, be understood of the past. The stones here are to be taken from the river-bed itself, for erection at Gilgal.

5. The command must belong to a point in the original narrative at which the people have not yet crossed.

the number of the tribes: see *Introd.*, III. 3.

6. **in time to come:** verse 21; *Exod.* xiii. 14; *Deut.* vi. 20.

9. Note that the twelve stones here are to be set up in the river-bed itself, to mark the resting-place of the ark during the crossing. Probably the writer of this verse could point to such stones as actually existent in his day. *Steuernagel* suggests that these really marked the ford, but were explained under the influence of *Deut.* xxvii. 4^a.

- 10 stood : and they are there, unto this day. For the priests which bare the ark stood in the midst of Jordan, until every thing was finished that the LORD commanded Joshua to speak unto the people, according to all that Moses commanded Joshua : [JE] and the people hasted
 11 and passed over. And it came to pass, when all the people were clean passed over, that the ark of the LORD passed over, and the priests, in the presence of the people.
 12 [R^D] And the children of Reuben, and the children of Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh, passed over armed before the children of Israel, as Moses spake unto them:
 13 [P] about forty thousand ready armed for war passed over before the LORD unto battle, to the plains of Jericho.
 14 [R^D] On that day the LORD magnified Joshua in the sight of all Israel ; and they feared him, as they feared Moses, all the days of his life.
 15 [P] And the LORD spake unto Joshua, saying,
 16 Command the priests that bear the ark of the testimony, 17 that they come up out of Jordan. Joshua therefore commanded the priests, saying, Come ye up out of
 18 Jordan. [JE] And it came to pass, when the priests

11. and the priests, in the presence of the people: the natural rendering of the Hebrew is 'and the priests before the people'; but the people have left the priests standing in the river-bed, according to iii. 17 (cf. iv. 3, 8, 10). Some take 'before' as = 'to the place before,' viz. 'the priests passed over to the head of the people' (Bennett). LXX reads 'and the stones before them' (cf. verse 8).

12. Cf. i. 12-18 ; Num. xxxii. 20 f.

13. forty thousand: the whole number of males given in Num. xxvi. 7, 18, 34 is about three times as great.

the plains of Jericho: a phrase parallel to 'the plains of Moab' (Deut. xxxiv. 1, 8), which is characteristic of P : cf. v. 10.

14. Cf. iii. 7.

16. the ark of the testimony: characteristic of P (note on iii. 3). According to verse 11 (JE), the ark has already come up from the river-bed.

that bare the ark of the covenant of the LORD were come up out of the midst of Jordan, and the soles of the priests' feet were lifted up unto the dry ground, that the waters of Jordan returned unto their place, and went over all its banks, as aforetime. [P] And the people ¹⁹ came up out of Jordan on the tenth day of the first month, and encamped in Gilgal, on the east border of Jericho. [JE] And those twelve stones, which they ²⁰ took out of Jordan, did Joshua set up in Gilgal. [R^D] And he spake unto the children of Israel, saying, ²¹ When your children shall ask their fathers in time to come, saying, What mean these stones? then ye shall let ²² your children know, saying, Israel came over this Jordan on dry land. For the LORD your God dried up ²³ the waters of Jordan from before you, until ye were passed over, as the LORD your God did to the Red Sea, which he dried up from before us, until we were passed over: that all the peoples of the earth may know the ²⁴

18. lifted up: 'drawn out' (the same verb as in viii. 16, 'drawn away').

over all its banks: i. e. in the harvest-flood, named in iii. 15.

19. the first month: i. e. Abib, the post-exilic Nisan, our April (iii. 15: cf. Exod. xii. 2).

Gilgal: v. 9. The site is supposed to be indicated by the mound Tell Jeljul, about a mile east of modern Jericho (*E.B.*, 1730).

20. The stones are those of verse 8. The name 'Gilgal' means a 'circle,' as of stones (see on v. 9). Whether they were now first set up there, or were really a 'cromlech' of earlier date, such as is still to be seen in Galilee, and east of Jordan, must remain doubtful. The number 'twelve,' probably of astral origin, figures largely in connexion with sacred objects: cf. Exod. xv. 27, xxiv. 4, xxviii. 17 f., xxxix. 10 f.; Lev. xxiv. 5; 1 Kings vii. 25, xviii. 31 (Zimmern in *Die Keilinschriften und das A. T.*,³ p. 629).

21 f.: parallel to iv. 6 f. (JE).

24. The emendation of the R. V. is necessary: the vowels of the Hebrew Textus Receptus are meant to express 'that ye might fear.' Notice the larger outlook of this passage (R^D), as compared with the simpler statement of the earlier JE (verse 7).

hand of the LORD, that it is mighty; that ^a they may fear the LORD your God for ever.

- 5 And it came to pass, when all the kings of the Amorites, which were beyond Jordan westward, and all the kings of the Canaanites, which were by the sea, heard how that the LORD had dried up the waters of Jordan from before the children of Israel, until ^b we were passed over, that their heart melted, neither was there spirit in them any more, because of the children of Israel.

- 2 [JE] At that time the LORD said unto Joshua, Make thee knives of flint, and circumcise again the children of

^a So with a change of vowel-points. The pointing of the text is irregular.

^b Another reading is, *they*.

v. 1-12. *The Camp at Gilgal.* Terror of the inhabitants at the news of the miracle (verse 1). Joshua, at the bidding of Yahweh, circumcises the males born since the Exodus (verses 2-9). The Passover is celebrated at Gilgal, and the manna now ceases (verses 10-12).

1. **Amorites . . . Canaanites:** see on Deut. i. 7; broadly speaking, the inhabitants of the highlands and lowlands respectively are thus designated (*not* etymologically).

until we were passed over: read with the Massoretic editors, some MSS. and the versions, as in R. V. marg. 'they.'

2. **knives of flint:** Exod. iv. 25; a case of the survival of stone instruments into an iron age, due to religious conservatism, found amongst the Egyptians in circumcision (Nowack, *Arch.* i. 167, note 2), and in embalming (Herod. ii. 86); just as, in Peru, the ceremonial hair-cutting of a child at two years was done with a stone knife (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, ii. p. 435).

circumcise: new light seems to be thrown on the origin of this widespread custom by recent researches into the practices of Australian aborigines, amongst whom it is found side by side with the much more serious mutilation known as 'sub-incision' (Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 263; *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 133). The explanation of the one must be applicable to the other, and no sanitary or utilitarian explanation will suffice for sub-incision. Circumcision is to be regarded as a mutilation originally connected with marriage, made to propitiate supernatural powers (e. g. demons)

Israel the second time. And Joshua made him knives ³ of flint, and circumcised the children of Israel at ^a the hill of the foreskins. [R^D] And this is the cause why ⁴ Joshua did circumcise: all the people that came forth out of Egypt, that were males, even all the men of war, died in the wilderness by the way, after they came forth out of Egypt. For all the people that came out were ⁵ circumcised: but all the people that were born in the wilderness by the way as they came forth out of Egypt, they had not circumcised. For the children of Israel ⁶ walked forty years in the wilderness, till all the nation, even the men of war which came forth out of Egypt, were consumed, because they hearkened not unto the voice of the LORD: unto whom the LORD sware that he would not let them see the land which the LORD sware unto

^a Or, *Gibeath-ha-araloth*

by partial sacrifice of the organ. Consequently, it is practised at initiation into manhood. This explanation finds support from West Africa (Ellis, *The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples*, p. 66). Cf. Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, p. 300. In the normal Hebrew rite, two modifications have been introduced: (a) its transference from puberty to infancy, (b) its assimilation into the worship of Yahweh. See the articles on 'Circumcision' in *D.B.* and *E.B.*, and the note in Driver's *Genesis*, pp. 189-91.

3. the hill of the foreskins: R. V. marg. transliterates the Hebrew of the phrase, on the assumption that it might be a proper name. The phrase probably refers, as Stade suggests, to some local custom of circumcising young men at the sanctuary of Gilgal (Judges ii. 1; much frequented in the eighth century: cf. Amos iv. 4 f., v. 5; Hos. iv. 15, ix. 15, xii. 11), where the foreskins were buried.

4. after they came forth: 'in their exodus' (Deut. iv. 45). Cf. Deut. ii. 14-16.

4-7. The redactor does not explain why circumcision did not take place on the way, if previously instituted. His aim may be to harmonize the institution of circumcision by Joshua at Gilgal with the view subsequently expressed by P (Gen. xvii), that it was instituted by Abraham. The reference to Zipporah's son in

their fathers that he would give us, a land flowing with
 7 milk and honey. And their children, whom he raised up
 in their stead, them did Joshua circumcise: for they were
 uncircumcised, because they had not circumcised them
 8 by the way. [JE] And it came to pass, when they had
 done circumcising all the nation, that they abode in
 9 their places in the camp, till they were whole. And the
 LORD said unto Joshua, This day have I rolled away the
 reproach of Egypt from off you. Wherefore the name of
 that place was called ^b Gilgal, unto this day.

10 [P] And the children of Israel encamped in Gilgal;
 and they kept the passover on the fourteenth day of the
 11 month at even in the plains of Jericho. And they did
 eat of the ^b old corn of the land on the morrow after the

^a That is, *Rolling*.

^b Or, *produce* Or, *corn*

Exod. iv. 24-6 perhaps refers to the transition from the circum-
 cision of puberty to that of infancy, and 'does not at all necessarily
 imply that J conceived circumcision to have been universal in
 Egypt' (*Oxf. Hav.*, ii. p. 327). R^D has probably added 'again,' and
 'a second time' in verse 2; but verse 9 seems to imply that Israel
 was not circumcised in Egypt.

8. till they were whole: the inhabitants of Canaan are
 perhaps represented as too terrified at the miraculous crossing to
 use this opportunity for attack (verse 1).

9. the reproach of Egypt: i. e. the scorn of the circumcised
 Egyptians for the (then) uncircumcised Israelites. Note how
 widely this representation differs from that of Gen. xvii (P).

Gilgal: the play on the name (R. V. marg.) is not, of course,
 a genuine etymology, since the name properly denotes, here as
 elsewhere, a 'circle' of stones (iv. 19, 20). Such word-plays are,
 however, common in the O. T. (e. g. Gen. iv. 1, 25, v. 29, xxix.
 32 f.); the verb *galal* does mean 'roll,' though 'Gilgal' does not
 mean 'rolling' (R. V. marg.).

10. The celebration of the Passover (P: cf. iv. 19) has been
 purposely prefaced, as Dillmann points out, by the observance of
 circumcision (Exod. xii. 44, 48).

on the fourteenth day of the month at even: Exod. xii. 6 f.
passover: see on Deut. xvi. 1.

11. old corn: rather, R. V. marg., 'produce' (so in next verse,
 here only).

passover, unleavened cakes and parched corn, in the selfsame day. And the manna ceased on the morrow, ¹² after they had eaten of the ^a old corn of the land; neither had the children of Israel manna any more; but they did eat of the fruit of the land of Canaan that year.

[JE] And it came to pass, when Joshua was by ¹³

^a Or, *produce*. Or, *corn*

unleavened cakes: Exod. xii. 20; unleavened bread was to be eaten for seven days, from the evening of the 14th to that of the 21st. This originally formed a separate festival, but was combined with that of the Passover (see on Deut. xvi).

parched corn: Lev. ii. 14, xxiii. 14; Ruth ii. 14; 1 Sam. xvii. 17. 'Ears of grain, barely ripe, roasted at the fire and eaten instead of bread. This is still an article of food in the East' (S.B.O.T. 'Leviticus,' *ad loc.*, p. 94). Lev. xxiii. 14 (of firstfruits) is here disregarded.

12. manna: Exod. xvi. 35.

v. 13—vi. 27. An armed man appears to Joshua, and declares himself the leader of the angels of Yahweh (v. 13-15); Yahweh instructs Joshua as to the capture of Jericho (vi. 1-5). After the necessary preparations (verses 6, 7), the ark is carried once in solemn procession round Jericho, seven priests blowing horns, but the fighting men keeping silence (verses 8-11). This is repeated up to six successive days (verses 12-14). On the seventh day the circuit is made seven times, at the last of which the warriors are directed to raise a battle-cry (verses 15, 16). Joshua orders that Rahab and her family shall be spared, but all other persons and things 'devoted' to Yahweh (verses 17-19). At the shout accompanying the seventh circuit on the seventh day the walls of Jericho fall, the city is taken, and Joshua's orders are obeyed (verses 20-5). Joshua attaches a curse to the rebuilding of Jericho (verse 26). Joshua's renown (verse 27).

That this narrative itself is composite is clear from the doublet of vi. 20 (two shouts, one at the bidding of Joshua, verses 10, 16, the other at the signal of the horn, verse 5); that of the rescue of Rahab (verses 22, 23, cf. verse 25); and that of the destruction of the city (verse 21, cf. verse 24); whilst verses 8, 9, and again verses 17^b, 18 interrupt the present order. The analysis of this confused story is too uncertain to be attempted above.

v. 13-15. The 'captain of Yahweh's host,' who speaks in v. 15, was not originally identified with Yahweh, who speaks in vi. 2 f., nor is Joshua represented in vi. 6 f. as being still at the place of the vision.

- Jericho, that he lifted up his eyes and looked, and, behold, there stood a man over against him with his sword drawn in his hand: and Joshua went unto him, and said unto him, Art thou for us, or for our adversaries?
- 14 And he said, Nay; but *as*^a captain of the host of the LORD am I now come. And Joshua fell on his face to the earth, and did worship, and said unto him, What
- 15 saith my lord unto his servant? And the captain of the LORD's host said unto Joshua, Put off thy shoe from off thy foot; for the place whereon thou standest is holy.
- 6 And Joshua did so. (Now Jericho^b was straitly shut up because of the children of Israel: none went out, and
- 2 none came in.) And the LORD said unto Joshua, See, I have given into thine hand Jericho, and the king
- 3 thereof, and the mighty men of valour. And ye shall

^a Or, *prince*

^b Heb. *shut the gates and was shut in.*

The original substance of the message which followed verse 15 has therefore been replaced by what now follows. This manifestation should be compared with the somewhat similar experience of Moses (Exod. iii. 2-5) at the outset of *his* mission. On the underlying conceptions, see *Introd.*, IV. 3.

13. over against: 'before.'

his sword drawn: so of the angel appearing to Balaam (Num. xxii. 23, 31), and to David (1 Chron. xxi. 16).

14. the host of Yahweh: i. e. the angels (1 Kings xxii. 19; Gen. xxxii. 1, 2: cf. 2 Kings vi. 17, of the invisible forces of Yahweh, on the side of His people). In Dan. viii. 11 the 'captain of the host' may possibly mean God Himself. (For the idea of the stars as Yahweh's warrior-host, see Zimmern in *Die Keilinschriften*³, pp. 439, 456.)

15. Put off thy shoe: Exod. iii. 5; here, probably, with reference to the sacredness of Gilgal itself (in original narrative). Divine or supernatural appearances are specially connected with sanctuaries; e. g. to Jacob at Bethel (Gen. xxviii. 12), whilst the messenger of Yahweh comes from Gilgal (Judges ii. 1). Priests are apparently described by P as entering the sanctuary barefoot (Exod. xxix. 20; Lev. viii. 23), with which the parallel practices of modern Samaritans and Mohammedans may be compared.

vi. 1 should precede v. 13.

compass the city, all the men of war, going about the city once. Thus shalt thou do six days. And seven priests ⁴ shall bear seven ^a trumpets of rams' horns before the ark : and the seventh day ye shall compass the city seven times, and the priests shall blow with the trumpets. And it shall be, that when they make a long blast with ⁵ the ram's horn, and when ye hear the sound of the trumpet, all the people shall shout with a great shout ; and the wall of the city shall fall down ^b flat, and the people shall go up every man straight before him. And ⁶ Joshua the son of Nun called the priests, and said unto them, Take up the ark of the covenant, and let seven priests bear seven trumpets of rams' horns before the ark of the LORD. And ^c they said unto the people, Pass on, ⁷ and compass the city, and let the armed men pass on before the ark of the LORD. And it was so, that when ⁸ Joshua had spoken unto the people, the seven priests

^a Or, *jubile trumpets*

^b Heb. *in its place*.

^c Another reading is, *he*.

4. seven : the sacredness of the number is variously emphasized, as giving these sevenfold acts a supernatural power ; the sevenfold circuit isolates the city for Yahweh. This belief in the sacredness of 'seven,' held also in Egypt and India, is specially prominent in Babylonia, with its seven planets, seven evil spirits, and seven-walled underworld. It is extensively illustrated both in the O.T. (periods of time, the week, altars, wells, lamps, sprinkling of blood, &c.) and in the late Jewish Apocalypses (*E.B.*, 3436 ; *Rel. Sem.*, p. 181). The verb 'swear,' in Hebrew, appears to mean 'bind oneself by seven.'

trumpets of rams' horns : Hebrew simply 'rams' horns.' 'Horn' should be read for 'trumpet' throughout this chapter.

7. they must refer to the priests ; the original reading, followed by the Hebrew editors and the versions, is probably that of R. V. marg. (with reference to Joshua, cf. verse 16^b).

8. The first part of the verse (to 'people') is omitted by LXX, which renders the verbs in verses 8, 9 by imperatives (e.g. 'let the priests pass on') ; so that these verses, instead of being narrative,

bearing the seven trumpets of rams' horns before the LORD passed on, and blew with the trumpets: and the
 9 ark of the covenant of the LORD followed them. And the armed men went before the priests that blew the trumpets, and the rearward went after the ark, *the priests*
 10 blowing with the trumpets as they went. And Joshua commanded the people, saying, Ye shall not shout, nor let your voice be heard, neither shall any word proceed out of your mouth, until the day I bid you shout; then
 11 shall ye shout. So he caused the ark of the LORD to compass the city, going about it once: and they came into the camp, and lodged in the camp.

12 And Joshua rose early in the morning, and the priests
 13 took up the ark of the LORD. And the seven priests bearing the seven trumpets of rams' horns before the ark of the LORD went on continually, and blew with the trumpets: and the armed men went before them; and the rearward came after the ark of the LORD, *the priests*
 14 blowing with the trumpets as they went. And the second day they compassed the city once, and returned into the
 15 camp: so they did six days. And it came to pass on the seventh day, that they rose early at the dawning of the day, and compassed the city after the same manner seven times: only on that day they compassed the city
 16 seven times. And it came to pass at the seventh time, when the priests blew with the trumpets, Joshua said unto the people, Shout; for the LORD hath given you the

become part of the instructions of Joshua. The narrative proper will then begin at verse 11. This avoids the interruption of Joshua's address.

9. *rearward*: as in Num. x. 25 (figuratively of Yahweh, Isa. lii. 12); here simply of armed men after, like those before the ark. The 'people' in this procession will naturally be the 'men of war' alone (verse 3).

city. And the city shall be ^adevoted, even it and all that ¹⁷ is therein, to the LORD: [R^D] only Rahab the harlot shall live, she and all that are with her in the house, because she hid the messengers that we sent. And ye, in any ¹⁸ wise keep yourselves from the devoted thing, lest when ye have devoted it, ye take of the devoted thing; so should ye make the camp of Israel ^baccursed, and trouble it. [JE] But all the silver, and gold, and vessels of ¹⁹ brass and iron, are holy unto the LORD: they shall come into the treasury of the LORD. So the people shouted, ²⁰ and *the priests* blew with the trumpets: and it came to pass, when the people heard the sound of the trumpet, that the people shouted with a great shout, and the wall fell down ^cflat, so that the people went up into the city, every man straight before him, and they took the city.

^a See Lev. xxvii. 28, Deut. xx. 17.

^b Heb. *devoted*.

^c Heb. *in its place*.

17. devoted: see note on Deut. xx. 17.

18. when ye have devoted it: read with LXX (cf. vii. 21), 'when ye desire it' (Deut. vii. 25), which implies a very slight change in the Hebrew consonants.

trouble: Heb. *achar*, from which the name *Achor* is derived (vii. 24, 26); a stronger term than the English rendering suggests (cf. Gen. xxxiv. 30).

19. brass: here, and elsewhere in O. T., bronze, i. e. copper hardened by about 10 per cent. of tin. An analysis of some ancient bronzes is given in *S.B.O.T.*, *ad loc*:

holy unto Yahweh: i. e. 'separated' for Him; see *E.B.*, 'Clean and Unclean.'

treasury: see verse 24 (note).

20. The narrative is meant to describe a purely miraculous event; but, as G. A. Smith points out in his review of the history of Jericho, 'in war she has always been easily taken. That her walls fell down at the sound of Joshua's trumpets is no exaggeration, but the soberest summary of all her history.' He indicates two causes for this military weakness, viz. the character of the surrounding country (hills behind easy to occupy; partial control of water supply), and the enervating climate of the Jordan Valley in its effects on the inhabitants (*H.G.H.L.*, p. 268).

- 21 And they ^autterly destroyed all that was in the city, both man and woman, both young and old, and ox, and sheep, 22 and ass, with the edge of the sword. And Joshua said unto the two men that had spied out the land, Go into the harlot's house, and bring out thence the woman, and 23 all that she hath, as ye sware unto her. And the young men the spies went in, and brought out Rahab, and her father, and her mother, and her brethren, and all that she had, all her ^bkindred also they brought out; and 24 they set them without the camp of Israel. And they burnt the city with fire, and all that was therein: only the silver, and the gold, and the vessels of brass and of iron, they put into the treasury of the house of the LORD. 25 But Rahab the harlot, and her father's household, and all that she had, did Joshua save alive; and she dwelt in the midst of Israel, unto this day; because she hid the messengers, which Joshua sent to spy out Jericho. 26 And Joshua charged them with an oath at that time, saying, Cursed be the man before the LORD, that riseth

^a Heb. *devoted*. ^b Heb. *families*.

22. as ye sware unto her: ii. 14-20. But cf. ii. 15 with vi. 20.

23. without the camp: for the camp is to be holy (Deut. xxiii. 14); and they are heathen, and therefore 'unclean' (cf. Num. v. 3. xxxi. 19).

24. treasury of the house of Yahweh: LXX omits 'house'; if the phrase is to be understood of the temple, it is of course an anachronism (cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 8; Joshua ix. 23: cf. Exod. xxiii. 19).

25. in the midst of Israel: xiii. 13; Deut. xvii. 20; **unto this day:** i. e. as represented by her descendants.

26. charged them with an oath: rather, 'caused them to swear.'

Cursed: the root-meaning of the word ('bound') suggests the primitive attitude towards such a formula (often metrical), which has a magical power to vindicate itself (cf. *E.B.*, 'Blessings and Curses'). The beginning and the completion of a city on this site shall cost the founder his children. The fulfilment of this curse is said to have come on Hiel (1 Kings xvi. 34), as LXX

up and buildeth this city Jericho: with the loss of his firstborn shall he lay the foundation thereof, and with the loss of his youngest son shall he set up the gates of it. So the LORD was with Joshua; and his fame was in 27 all the land.

[P] But the children of Israel committed a trespass in the 7 devoted thing: for Achan, the son of Carmi, the son of Zabdi, the son of Zerah, of the tribe of Judah, took of the devoted thing: and the anger of the LORD was kindled against the children of Israel.

here adds (though the name is different); possibly the misfortunes of Hiel led to the ascription of the curse to Joshua. Jericho, at any rate, is still standing in Joshua xviii. 21; Judges iii. 13 (see on Joshua ii. 1); 2 Sam. x. 5. Kuenen thinks that sacrifice of the two sons was originally in view (p. 240). Cf. Skinner's note in the *Century Bible*, 1 Kings xvi. 34. For parallels to the curse amongst other nations, see *S.B.O.T.*, *ad loc.*, where Troy, Carthage, and Kirrha are named.

vii. *The Sin of Achan.* An attack on Ai, made confidently, but with insufficient forces, is defeated with some loss (verses 1-5). Joshua appeals to Yahweh, for His name's sake (verses 6-9). Yahweh declares that the defeat is due to Israel's failure to 'devote' Jericho wholly (verses 10-13), and bids Joshua take measures to ascertain the culprit (verses 13-15). This having been done, Achan is revealed as the sinner (verses 16-18), and, at Joshua's adjuration, he makes confession of his theft, and of the hiding-place of the 'devoted' articles (verses 19-21). These, with Achan, all his family, and all his possessions, are taken to a suitable place, the living stoned to death, and all burnt; a cairn of stones is erected over them (verses 22-6).

No agreement in detail has been reached as to the distribution of this chapter between J and E. Bennett and Holzinger regard it as composite, but unanalysable; Steuernagel assigns it mainly to E, the *Oxf. Hex.* mainly to J.

1. committed a trespass: 'acted faithlessly': cf. xxii. 20 (P, of whom the word is characteristic, Lev. v. 15, as is that for 'tribe,' here and in a clause belonging to R^P in verse 18 (*matteḥ*)).

Achan: the name is modified into an epithet in 1 Chron. ii. 7: 'Achar the troubler (same consonants) of Israel, who acted faithlessly in the *herem*.'

Israel: 'Achan's breach of a taboo involves the whole host' (*Rel. Sem.*, p. 162).

- 2 [JE] And Joshua sent men from Jericho to Ai, which is beside Beth-aven, on the east side of Beth-el, and spake unto them, saying, Go up and spy out the land.
- 3 And the men went up and spied out Ai. And they returned to Joshua, and said unto him, Let not all the people go up; but let about two or three thousand men go up and smite Ai; make not all the people to toil
- 4 thither; for they are but few. So there went up thither of the people about three thousand men: and they fled
- 5 before the men of Ai. And the men of Ai smote of them about thirty and six men: and they chased them *from* before the gate even unto ^a Shebarim, and smote them at the going down: and the hearts of the people
- 6 melted, and became as water. And Joshua rent his clothes, and fell to the earth upon his face before the

^a Or, *the quarries*

2. **Ai:** (Heb. *Hai*=Aija, Aiath) viii. 11 f.; probably to be identified with Haiyân. 'There is a deep ravine to the north, an open valley to the west, and a flat plain to south and east. This site is 2½ miles south-east of Bethel, and on the road thence to the Jordan Valley. It is evidently the site of an ancient town, with rock-cut tombs' (Conder, in *D.B.*, s.v.). Cf. Gen. xii. 8; Isa. x. 28; Ezra ii. 28. It lay on the road from the Jordan Valley to Bethel, a natural route for invaders to take who were making for the centre of the country (*H.G.H.L.*, p. 264).

Beth-aven (xviii. 12; 1 Sam. xiii. 5), not identified.

3. We are perhaps meant to see the first working of the stolen *herem* in this unjustified expression of confidence. In the sequel, at Yahweh's command (viii. 1), all the warriors are taken.

5. **unto Shebarim:** *lit.* 'breakings,' not known as a place-name. The chief versions, with a different vocalization of the consonants, render 'until they were broken.'

6. **rent his clothes,** &c.: parallels, partial or complete, may be found in the mourning of Jacob for Joseph (Gen. xxxvii. 34); of the messenger from Gilboa (2 Sam. i. 2); of David, at the report of the murder of his sons by Absalom (2 Sam. xiii. 31); and in the grief of Joseph's brethren (Gen. xlv. 13), and of Job's friends (Job ii. 12). The rent clothes are probably the modification of an earlier mutilation of the flesh for the dead (Deut. xiv.

ark of the LORD until the evening, he and the elders of Israel; and they put dust upon their heads. And Joshua 7 said, Alas, O Lord GOD, wherefore hast thou at all brought this people over Jordan, to deliver us into the hand of the Amorites, to cause us to perish? would that we had been content and dwelt beyond Jordan! Oh 8 Lord, what shall I say, after that Israel hath turned their backs before their enemies! For the Canaanites 9 and all the inhabitants of the land shall hear of it, and shall compass us round, and cut off our name from the earth: and what wilt thou do for thy great name? And 10 the LORD said unto Joshua, Get thee up; wherefore art thou thus fallen upon thy face? Israel hath sinned; 11 yea, they have even transgressed my covenant which I commanded them: yea, they have even taken of the devoted thing; and have also stolen, and dissembled

1), here transferred from mourning to grief in general; whilst mourners also were accustomed to strew dust, taken from the grave, on their heads (see *E.B.*, c. 3222).

the elders of Israel: Deut. v. 23, xix. 12, xxi. 2f., 19f., xxii. 15f., xxv. 7f., xxix. 10, xxxi. 9, 28.

7. Cf. Exod. xiv. 11f.; Num. xiv. 2f.

9. our name . . . thy name: illustrating two of the pregnant usages of 'name' in the O. T.; in the former case for the national existence (Isa. lv. 13: cf. Deut. vii. 24, ix. 14), in the latter, for the revealed character of Yahweh (1 Sam. xii. 22; Jer. xlv. 26; Ezek. xxxvi. 23). For this identification of the interests of Israel with the honour of Yahweh, cf. Deut. ix. 28, and *Introd.*, IV. 4. 'Whatever the primitive meaning of the Hebrew *šēm* and the Assyrian *šunu* may have been, it was not merely "name" in our sense of the word, but something much fuller, which would be applicable to all forms of divine manifestation' (Cheyne, in *E.B.*, c. 3268).

10. Yahweh diverts the thoughts of Joshua from the crushing experience of Divine desertion to its moral cause and to the need for action.

11. The sin of Israel is stated in five successive points, viz. the overstepping of the covenant (here the injunction of vi. 17, 18: cf. Hos. viii. 1; Deut. xvii. 2), by infringement of the *herem*, through theft, implicit lying, and appropriation of Yahweh's property.

- also, and they have even put it among their own stuff.
- 12 Therefore the children of Israel cannot stand before their enemies, they turn their backs before their enemies, because they are become ^aaccursed: I will not be with you any more, except ye destroy the devoted thing from
- 13 among you. Up, sanctify the people, and say, Sanctify yourselves against to-morrow: for thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel, There is a devoted thing in the midst of thee, O Israel: thou canst not stand before thine enemies, until ye take away the devoted thing from
- 14 among you. In the morning therefore ye shall be brought near by your tribes: and it shall be, that the tribe which the LORD taketh shall come near by families;

^a See ch. vi. 18.

12. accursed: '*herem*,' a devoted thing; they are themselves under the ban of destruction by the presence of the *herem*, working, so to speak, automatically in their midst. The underlying conception is, therefore, not that of moral guilt, alone, or chiefly; there is here, as in primitive thought generally, a quasi-material element interwoven with the moral.

13. sanctify: iii. 5; i. e. prepare for a sacred act by ceremonial cleanliness.

14. brought near: Exod. xxii. 8, i. e. to God at the sanctuary, for trial by lot.

taketh: i. e. by lot, as in 1 Sam. xiv. 41 (R. V. marg.), where Jonathan is detected as the breaker of taboo. In this latter case the LXX indicates that the lot was cast by Urim and Thummim (Exod. xxviii. 30) as, possibly, here also (see on Deut. xxxiii. 8). The whole procedure should be compared with that employed in choosing Saul as king (1 Sam. x. 20-4), the larger units being dealt with through their representatives. Cf. note on xxii. 14. 'All Israel consists of a number of tribes (*shēbet*, in P, *matteh*), a tribe of several clans (*mishpachah*), a clan of several "houses" (*bēth*, or *bēth āb*, pl. *bēth ābōth*), a "house" of a number of individuals' (Gray, *Numbers*, pp. 4, 5). Ancient faith in the sacred casting of lots (Prov. xvi. 33) may be illustrated by its use alike for the detection of a Jonah (Jonah i. 7) and the election of a Matthias (Acts i. 26). The pre-Islamic Arabs obtained guidance in the choice of alternatives by the use of pointless arrows (cf. Ezek. xxi. 21, 22) before an idol in his sanctuary; one arrow,

and the family which the LORD shall take shall come near by households ; and the household which the LORD shall take shall come near man by man. And it shall ¹⁵ be, that he that is taken with the devoted thing shall be burnt with fire, he and all that he hath : because he hath transgressed the covenant of the LORD, and because he hath wrought folly in Israel.

So Joshua rose up early in the morning, and brought ¹⁶ Israel near by their tribes ; and the tribe of Judah was taken : and he brought near the ^a family of Judah ; and ¹⁷ he took the family of the Zerahites : and he brought near the family of the Zerahites ^b man by man ; and Zabdi was taken : and he brought near his household ¹⁸ man by man ; and Achan, the son of Carmi, the son of Zabdi, the son of Zerah, of the tribe of Judah, was taken. And Joshua said unto Achan, My son, give, I pray thee, ¹⁹ glory to the LORD, the God of Israel, and ^c make confession unto him ; and tell me now what thou hast done ; hide it not from me. And Achan answered Joshua, and ²⁰ said, Of a truth I have sinned against the LORD, the God of Israel, and thus and thus have I done : when I saw ²¹ among the spoil a goodly ^d Babylonish mantle, and two

^a According to some ancient authorities, *families*.

^b According to some ancient authorities, *by households*.

^c Or, *give praise*

^d Heb. *mantle of Shinar*.

when drawn, gave an affirmative, the other a negative response (Wellhausen, *Reste*, p. 132).

15. folly in Israel : see on Deut. xxii. 21.

17. R. V. marg. should be read in both cases.

19. Achan will give glory and praise (R. V. marg. : cf. Ezra x. 11) to Yahweh, who has thus displayed His knowledge of hidden things, by confessing his sin, and so justifying the Divine oracle before the people (cf. on one view of that passage, Ps. li. 4). Cf. John ix. 24 (R. V.), where glory is to be given to God by withdrawal of the blasphemy of verse 17 ; 1 Sam. vi. 5.

21. a goodly Babylonish mantle : Shinar (R. V. marg.) =

hundred shekels of silver, and a wedge of gold of fifty shekels weight, then I coveted them, and took them; and, behold, they are hid in the earth in the midst of my
 22 tent, and the silver under it. So Joshua sent messengers, and they ran unto the tent; and, behold, it was hid in
 23 his tent, and the silver under it. And they took them from the midst of the tent, and brought them unto Joshua, and unto all the children of Israel; and they
 24 laid them down before the LORD. And Joshua, and all Israel with him, took Achan the son of Zerah, and the silver, and the mantle, and the wedge of gold, and his sons, and his daughters, and his oxen, and his asses, and

Babylon (Gen. x. 10); some specially costly cloak is intended, the products of the Babylonian looms being famous.

two hundred shekels of silver: the shekel here is a weight, coinage not being employed anywhere before the seventh century. The Hebrews, after the Conquest, must have adopted the system of weights current in Canaan, i. e. that of Babylonia, by which the gold shekel would be about 253 grains troy, or a little more than two sovereigns in weight, whilst the silver shekel would be about 224 grains troy, or rather more than the weight of an English half-crown. The intrinsic value of the metal (its purchasing power being, of course, much greater) would be about £2 1s. 0d. for the gold shekel, and nearly 2s. 9d. for the silver (for further details, see Kennedy, *D.B.*, iii. p. 419: cf. *E.B.*, 4444).

23. laid them down: 'poured them out,' viz. before the sanctuary.

24. The extension of the guilt of the individual to the whole family group of which he is a member is due to that idea of corporate responsibility which underlies ancient ethics and law as a whole (cf. xxii. 18). From our point of view, we may say with Mozley (*Lectures on the O. T.*, p. 87), 'The defective sense of justice, then, in those early ages, arose from the defective sense of individuality.' From the ancient standpoint, the justice of the procedure follows from the idea of the blood-group (real or fictitious) as a unity. It is possible, however, in the present case, that one narrative contemplated the destruction of Achan alone (cf. Deut. xxiv. 16), whilst this has been brought into conformity with the law of Deut. xiii. 16 by the addition of Achan's goods and family. For death by stoning, see Deut. xvii. 5 (note); by fire, Gen. xxxviii. 24.

his sheep, and his tent, and all that he had : and they brought them up unto the valley of Achor. And Joshua ²⁵ said, Why hast thou troubled us? the LORD shall trouble thee this day. And all Israel stoned him with stones ; and they burned them with fire, and stoned them with stones. And they raised over him a great heap of stones, ²⁶ unto this day ; and the LORD turned from the fierceness of his anger. Wherefore the name of that place was called, The valley of ^a Achor, unto this day.

[R^D] And the LORD said unto Joshua, Fear not, neither ⁸ be thou dismayed : take all the people of war with thee, and arise, go up to Ai : see, I have given into thy hand the king of Ai, and his people, and his city, and his land : and thou shalt do to Ai and her king as thou didst unto ²

^a That is, *Troubling*.

the valley of Achor : xv. 7 : cf. Hos. ii. 15 ; Isa. lxxv. 10 ; identified by some with the Wady el-Kelt, leading down from the hill-country to the Jordan Valley. In the following verse there is a play on its name in 'trouble' (achar).

26. a great heap of stones : viii. 29 ; 2 Sam. xviii. 17. The original purpose of this widespread practice may have been to prevent the ghost of the dead (conceived as quasi-material from emerging and troubling his survivors. Here it is a monument of disgrace.

viii. 1-29. *The Capture of Ai.* Yahweh directs a renewed attack on Ai (verses 1, 2). Joshua places to the west of Ai an ambush of 30,000 picked men, who are to seize and burn the city, when the inhabitants have been drawn out by the apparent flight of the remaining Israelites (verses 3-9). The stratagem entirely succeeds (verses 10-17). The men of Ai are surrounded and destroyed, as are the women left in the city (verses 18-26). The cattle and spoil, according to Yahweh's permission, are retained by Israel ; the king of Ai is hanged, and a cairn erected on his body at the gate of the burnt city (verses 27-9).

There are several indications that this narrative is drawn from two independent sources, viz. the ambush set twice in the same place (cf. verses 3-9 with verse 12), the double start (verses 3^a and 10), and the twice-burnt city (verses 19 and 28).

2. as thou didst unto Jericho : vi. 21 : cf. Deut. ii. 34 f., iii. 6 f., xx. 16.

Jericho and her king : only the spoil thereof, and the cattle thereof, shall ye take for a prey unto yourselves :
 3 set thee an ambush for the city behind it. [JE] So Joshua arose, and all the people of war, to go up to Ai : and Joshua chose out thirty thousand men, the mighty
 4 men of valour, and sent them forth by night. And he commanded them, saying, Behold, ye shall lie in ambush against the city, behind the city : go not very far from
 5 the city, but be ye all ready : and I, and all the people that are with me, will approach unto the city : and it shall come to pass, when they come out against us, as
 6 at the first, that we will flee before them ; and they will come out after us, till we have drawn them away from the city ; for they will say, They flee before us, as at the first ;
 7 so we will flee before them : and ye shall rise up from the ambush, and take possession of the city : for the
 8 LORD your God will deliver it into your hand. And it shall be, when ye have seized upon the city, that ye shall set the city on fire ; [R^D] according to the word of the LORD shall ye do : see, I have commanded you.
 9 [JE] And Joshua sent them forth : and they went to the ambushment, and abode between Beth-el and Ai, on the west side of Ai : but Joshua lodged that night among the people.

behind it : i. e. westwards of Ai : cf. verses 4, 9 ; Deut. xi. 30.

3. Between the two halves of this verse we must suppose Joshua to have marched from the camp at Gilgal (ix. 6) into the neighbourhood of Ai (sixteen miles), where he detaches the ambuscade (so Dillmann : cf. verse 9).

5. as at the first : vii. 5 f. ; note the use made of the former defeat in the stratagem.

9. among the people : by the addition of a single Hebrew letter, read with Ewald and Dillmann, ' in the midst of the vale ' (verse 13). Joshua takes in person the position for the feigned attack on Ai (as in the parallel, verse 13).

And Joshua rose up early in the morning, and mustered ¹⁰ the people, and went up, he and the elders of Israel, before the people to Ai. And all the people, *even* the ¹¹ *men of war* that were with him, went up, and drew nigh, and came before the city, and pitched on the north side of Ai: now there was a valley between him and Ai. And he ¹² took about five thousand men, and set them in ambush between Beth-el and Ai, on the west side of ^a the city. ^b So they set the people, even all the host that was on ¹³ the north of the city, and their liers in wait that were on the west of the city; and Joshua ^c went that night into the midst of the vale. And it came to pass, when the ¹⁴ king of Ai saw it, that they hasted and rose up early, and the men of the city went out against Israel to battle, he and all his people, ^d at the time appointed, before the Arabah; but he wist not that there was an ambush

^a Another reading is, *Ai*.

^b Or, *So the people set all &c.*

^c Some MSS. read, *lodged that night in*.

^d Or, *to the place appointed*

10-12 must be regarded as a narrative parallel with that of verses 3-9, and is usually assigned to E, as the former to J (Dillmann, Bennett, Holzinger). We start again from Gilgal, the march of the warriors to the north of Ai, and the detachment of the (much smaller and more likely) ambush to the west, being again narrated.

13: omitted by LXX. It summarizes and combines J and E, its theory apparently being that the first detachment preceded the main body in the first night, lying in ambush at Ai, till joined by the second detachment on the second night (Holzinger). The R. V. text in both cases is preferable to the margin; 'they' = Joshua and the elders (verse 10).

liers in wait: 'rear,' *lit.* 'heel': cf. Gen. xlix. 19.

14 shows confusion, due probably to composite origin.

saw it: i. e. the position of the main body of Israel; but the pronoun is supplied by R. V.

at the time (place) appointed, before the Arabah yields no meaning (LXX omits).

15 against him behind the city. And Joshua and all Israel made as if they were beaten before them, and fled by 16 the way of the wilderness. And all the people that were in ^a the city were called together to pursue after them; and they pursued after Joshua, and were drawn away 17 from the city. And there was not a man left in Ai or Beth-el, that went not out after Israel: and they left the 18 city open, and pursued after Israel. And the LORD said unto Joshua, Stretch out the javelin that is in thy hand toward Ai; for I will give it into thine hand. And Joshua stretched out the javelin that was in his hand 19 toward the city. And the ambush arose quickly out of their place, and they ran as soon as he had stretched out his hand, and entered into the city, and took it; and 20 they hastened and set the city on fire. And when the men of Ai looked behind them, they saw, and, behold, the smoke of the city ascended up to heaven, and they had

^a Another reading is, *Ai*.

15. the way of the wilderness: i. e. eastwards, into the desolate and mountainous country between Ai and the Jordan Valley.

17. Beth-el: near to and west of Ai (vii. 2).

javelin: or dart (*kidōn*), distinct from the spear or lance (*hānith*). Joshua is represented as keeping the javelin outstretched (verse 26), just as Moses (Exod. xvii. 11, E) kept his hands uplifted during the defeat of Amalek. Forms of symbolic magic are here assimilated to the religion of Yahweh.

19. as soon as he had stretched out his hand: probably added by the redactor of J and E, to interpret verse 18 as a signal. But no arrangement for such a signal has been made with the ambush; in any case, it would have been useless, since the distance would make the javelin invisible (itself, as Holzinger points out, less suitable than the longer 'spear' for signalling). We are rather to think that whilst one source (E?) represents the capture of Ai as achieved through divine 'magic,' the other makes the rising smoke (verses 20, 21) from the (invisible) city the signal for the pursued to turn on their pursuers (so at the capture of Gibeah, Judges xx. 38).

no ^a power to flee this way or that way : and the people that fled to the wilderness turned back upon the pursuers. And when Joshua and all Israel saw that the ambush had ²¹ taken the city, and that the smoke of the city ascended, then they turned again, and slew the men of Ai. And ²² the other came forth out of the city against them ; so they were in the midst of Israel, some on this side, and some on that side : and they smote them, so that they let none of them remain or escape. And the king of Ai ²³ they took alive, and brought him to Joshua. And it came ²⁴ to pass, when Israel had made an end of slaying all the inhabitants of Ai in the field, in the wilderness wherein they pursued them, and they were all fallen by the edge of the sword, until they were consumed, that all Israel returned unto Ai, and smote it with the edge of the sword. And all that fell that day, both of ²⁵ men and women, were twelve thousand, even all the men of Ai. For Joshua drew not back his hand, wherewith ²⁶ he stretched out the javelin, until he had ^b utterly destroyed all the inhabitants of Ai. [R^D] Only the cattle ²⁷ and the spoil of that city Israel took for a prey unto themselves, according unto the word of the LORD which he commanded Joshua. [JE] So Joshua burnt Ai, and ²⁸ made it an ^c heap for ever, even a desolation, unto this day. And the king of Ai he hanged on a tree until the ²⁹ eventide : and at the going down of the sun Joshua com-

^a Heb. *hands*. ^b Heb. *devoted*. ^c Or, *mound* Heb. *tel*.

20. power : 'hand' is frequently used in this figurative sense : cf. Deut. xvi. 17, xxxii. 36, xxxiv. 12 ; Ps. lxxvi. 5.

28. an heap for ever : Deut. xiii. 16.

unto this day : but Ai was rebuilt in the neighbourhood (Isa. x. 28 ; Ezra ii. 28).

29. hanged : i. e. after having been killed (x. 26 ; Deut. xxi. 22, 23) ; the reference is to impalement or gibbeting after death

manded, and they took his carcase down from the tree, and cast it at the entering of the gate of the city, and raised thereon a great heap of stones, unto this day.

- 30 [R^D] Then Joshua built an altar unto the LORD, the God
 31 of Israel, in mount Ebal, as Moses the servant of the LORD commanded the children of Israel, as it is written in the book of the law of Moses, an altar of ^a unhewn stones, upon which no man had lift up any iron: and they offered thereon burnt offerings unto the LORD, and
 32 sacrificed peace offerings. And he wrote there upon ^b the stones a copy of the law of Moses, ^c which he wrote,
 33 in the presence of the children of Israel. And all Israel, and their elders and officers, and their judges, stood on this side the ark and on that side before the priests the

^a Heb. *whole*. ^b See Deut. xxvii. 2-4.

^c Or, *which he wrote in &c.*

(*E.B.*, p. 1959). The body is represented as being taken down at sunset, in obedience to such laws as that of Deuteronomy (*loc. cit.*). For the heap of stones, see on vii. 26.

viii. 30-35. An altar is built, sacrifices are offered, and the law is inscribed on Mount Ebal (verses 30-2). The blessing and curse of the Deuteronomic law are read to all Israel between Ebal and Gerizim (verses 33-5).

These events, supposed to take place at Shechem, in the heart of territory as yet unconquered, can hardly belong to their present context (which, moreover, they interrupt). We may suppose the section misplaced, and to be read after xi. 23, or (with Dillmann) that the narrative of the conquest of Middle Canaan has been omitted.

R^D probably uses earlier material; otherwise the Law of the Single Sanctuary would not be thus set aside by him.

30. **mount Ebal**: Deut. xxvii. 4; *H.G.H.L.*, p. 120:

31. **as it is written**: Deut. xxvii. 5 (where see the notes).

32. **upon the stones**: presumably those of Deut. xxvii. 1-4, with prepared surface, though the present passage alone would suggest that the stones of the altar are meant.

a copy of the law: Deut. xvii. 18. Read as in R. V. marg.

33. This public assembly for the reading of the (Deuteronomic)

Levites, which bare the ark of the covenant of the LORD, as well the stranger as the homeborn; half of them in front of mount Gerizim, and half of them in front of mount Ebal; as Moses the servant of the LORD had ^a commanded, that they should bless the people of Israel first of all. And afterward he read all the words of the ³⁴ law, the blessing and the curse, according to all that is written in the book of the law. There was not a word ³⁵ of all that Moses commanded, which Joshua read not before all the assembly of Israel, and the women, and the little ones, and the strangers that ^b were conversant among them.

And it came to pass, when all the kings which ⁹

^a Or, *commanded at the first, that they should bless the people of Israel.*

^b Heb. *walked.*

law is not to be confused with the procedure commanded in Deut. xxvii. 11–26, but connected rather with the general command of Deut. xxxi. 11.

as well the stranger as the homeborn: (verse 35; Lev. xxiv. 16, 22) the *gēr* and the *ezrāh* (see Robertson Smith, *Rel. Sem.*, p. 75). See on Deut. i. 16.

Gerizim: Deut. xi. 29; *H.G.H.L.*, p. 120.

had commanded: text preferable to margin) nothing more definite than Deut. xi. 29 is recorded; **first of all:** opposed to **afterward** (verse 34).

34. the words of the law: i. e. those inscribed on the stones; the reference to the blessing and the curse appears to be added in view of Deut. xxvii. 12 f.

35. were conversant among them: rather (cf. R. V. marg.), ‘travelled in their midst.’

ix. *The Stratagem of the Gibeonites.* The kings of Canaan prepare for common action against Israel (verses 1, 2). The Gibeonites, by the device of worn apparel and stale provisions, persuade Israel that they come from a far country; an alliance is therefore made with them (verses 3–15). When their actual nearness is discovered, Israel journeys to their cities, the people finding fault with their leaders because of the hasty oath of alliance (verses 16–18). The leaders suggest that the Gibeonites should be given a servile place in relation to the congregation of

were beyond Jordan, in the hill country, and in the lowland, and on all the shore of the great sea in front of Lebanon, the Hittite, and the Amorite, the Canaanite, the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite, heard thereof; ² that they gathered themselves together, to fight with Joshua and with Israel, with one accord.

³ [JE] But when the inhabitants of Gibeon heard what ⁴ Joshua had done unto Jericho and to Ai, they also did work wilily, and went and ^a made as if they had been

^a Another reading, followed by most ancient versions, is, *took them provisions*. See ver. 12.

Israel (verses 19-21). Joshua summons the Gibeonites, and accuses them of deceit, which they defend as necessary, in view of the *herem* of Yahweh (verses 22-4). They place themselves at the disposal of Joshua, who gives them a servile place in relation to the (future) temple (verses 25-7).

Apart from the additions of R^D, the composite character of the narrative is evident from the parallels, verses 15^b, 17-21 (P), and verses 22, 23, 26 (JE), in which the 'princes' and Joshua respectively take the leadership. There are also signs within the JE sections of a double narrative (cf. 'Hivites,' verse 7, for 'inhabitants of Gibeon,' verse 3; and note the action of the Israelites apart from Joshua, verse 14).

ix. 1-2. Cf. the similar introductory note of R^D in v. 1, describing the first effect of the invasion, as this does the resultant alliance against Israel.

1. Three districts are mentioned, viz. the **lowland**, or 'Shephelah,' properly the region of low hills, south of Ajalon, between the plain of Philistia (here **the shore of the great sea**, i. 4, i.e. the Mediterranean coast) on the one hand, and the central range (**the hill country**) on the other (*H.G.H.L.*, p. 203).

in front of Lebanon: should be connected with 'sea,' as the absence of a comma in R. V. indicates.

the Hittite, &c. : xii. 8; for the list of six nations (seven in iii. 10), see on Deut. vii. 1.

3. **Gibeon**: identified with el-Jib, five or six miles north-west of Jerusalem; here the chief of a league of four cities (verse 17), itself greater than Ai (x. 2).

4. **they ~~ed~~o did work wilily**: i. e. as well as Israel, in the stratagem against Ai. Read with R. V. marg.; the difference simply involves the change of a Hebrew consonant to another like it in form.

ambassadors, and took old sacks upon their asses, and wine-skins, old and rent and bound up; and old shoes 5 and clouted upon their feet, and old garments upon them; and all the bread of their provision was dry and was become mouldy. And they went to Joshua unto 6 the camp at Gilgal, and said unto him, and to the men of Israel, We are come from a far country: now therefore make ye a covenant with us. And the men of 7 Israel said unto the Hivites, Peradventure ye dwell among us; and how shall we make a covenant with you? And they said unto Joshua, We are thy servants. And 8 Joshua said unto them, Who are ye? and from whence come ye? And they said unto him, From a very far 9 country thy servants are come [R^D] because of the name of the LORD thy God: for we have heard the fame of him, and all that he did in Egypt, and all that he 10 did to the two kings of the Amorites, that were beyond Jordan, to Sihon king of Heshbon, and to Og king of Bashan, which was at Ashtaroath. [JE] And our 11 elders and all the inhabitants of our country spake to

bound up: i. e. mended by tying or sewing. Such skins, as is well known, are still used in the East.

5. was become mouldy: rather (so in verse 12), 'crumbled.'

6. Gilgal: iv. 19, the Israelite base of operations (cf. x. 15, 43).

7. Hivites: xi. 19; Gen. xxxiv. 2; 2 Sam. xxiv. 7. The name denotes an unimportant people of Central Palestine, included in the *herem* of Deut. vii. 2; its appearance here for 'Gibeonites,' without explanation, points to the use of a different source, and this is confirmed by the prominence of the 'men of Israel' without Joshua.

8. We are thy servants: here the Gibeonites are represented as offering subjection, rather than as seeking a treaty by craft; Joshua questions them regardless of verse 6.

9^b, 10. Cf. ii. 10; Deut. i. 21, 30, ii. 25, &c., for the ascription to R^D.

11. No king of Gibeon is mentioned; the government, like that of Succoth (Judges viii. 14), appears to have been in the hands of

us, saying, Take provision in your hand for the journey, and go to meet them, and say unto them, We are your
 12 servants : and now make ye a covenant with us. This
 our bread we took hot for our provision out of our
 houses on the day we came forth to go unto you ; but now,
 13 behold, it is dry, and is become mouldy : and these
 wine-skins, which we filled, were new ; and, behold, they
 be rent : and these our garments and our shoes are
 14 become old by reason of the very long journey. And
 the men took of their provision, and asked not counsel at
 15 the mouth of the LORD. And Joshua made peace with
 them, and made a covenant with them, to let them live :
 [P] and the princes of the congregation sware unto
 16 them. [JE] And it came to pass at the end of three
 days after they had made a covenant with them, that
 they heard that they were their neighbours, and that
 17 they dwelt among them. [P] And the children of
 Israel journeyed, and came unto their cities on the third
 day. Now their cities were Gibeon, and Chephirah,

a council of elders. After the word 'servants' the source broken off at verse 7 is resumed.

14. The men (of Israel) take and taste their food to test their words. Haupt (*S.B.O.T.*, *ad loc.*) contrasts the fresh fig produced by Cato in the Senate to illustrate the proximity of Carthage (Plin. xv. 20).

asked not counsel: Hebrew 'asked not the mouth of Yahweh' (Isa. xxx. 2), some form of the sacred lot being intended.

15. The three sources seem each to have contributed something to this verse, whose triplet affords a good example of the problems of literary analysis. Joshua makes peace with the Gibeonites (E? cf. verse 8); a covenant is made with them, doubtless by the men of Israel in the original narrative (J? cf. verse 7); the princes of the congregation swear to them (P, whose narrative is continued in verses 17-21).

17. on the third day: the direct distance, as measured on the map, from Gilgal to Gibeon, is about nineteen miles; the journey

and Beeroth, and Kiriath-jearim. And the children of 18
 Israel smote them not, because the princes of the
 congregation had sworn unto them by the LORD, the
 God of Israel. And all the congregation murmured
 against the princes. But all the princes said unto all 19
 the congregation, We have sworn unto them by the
 LORD, the God of Israel: now therefore we may not
 touch them. This we will do to them, and let them 20
 live; lest wrath be upon us, because of the oath which
 we sware unto them. And the princes said unto them, 21
 Let them live: so they became hewers of wood and
 drawers of water unto all the congregation; as the
 princes had spoken unto them. [JE] And Joshua called 22
 for them, and he spake unto them, saying, Wherefore
 have ye beguiled us, saying, We are very far from you;
 when ye dwell among us? Now therefore ye are cursed, 23

by road would, of course, be greater. As for the three other
 cities of the Gibeonite league, Chephirah and Kiriath-jearim lay a
 little to the south-west of Gibeon: Beeroth may be el-Bire to the
 north of Gibeon, near Bethel.

18. murmured: Exod. xvi. 2; Num. xiv. 2, xvii. 5.

20. The binding power of the spoken word was generally
 acknowledged by the ancient world; it is to be distinguished from
 the moral aspect of such promises. Here, indeed, a modern would
 regard the pledge as cancelled by the deception employed to
 obtain it; whilst, if it were recognized as binding, he would
 hardly feel free to evade it as in verse 21. The account of the
 deception, however, does not belong to this source (P).

wrath: Num. i. 53, xvi. 46, xviii. 5: cf. 2 Sam. vi. 7;
 xxi. 1 f., &c.

21. Something seems to be wanting at the end of verse 20;
 LXX finds this in verse 21, omitting 'and the princes said unto
 them,' and reading 'they shall live, and shall be wood-cutters and
 water-carriers for all the congregation.' The important uncial F
 also reads 'and all the congregation did' before the concluding
 words 'as the princes said unto them.' This service to the
 people (to individual Israelites? cf. Driver on Deut. xxix. 10) is to
 be distinguished from the temple-service intended in verses 23, 27.

- and there ^a shall never fail to be of you bondmen, both hewers of wood and drawers of water for the house of
 24 my God. [R^D] And they answered Joshua, and said, Because it was certainly told thy servants, how that the LORD thy God commanded his servant Moses to give you all the land, and to destroy all the inhabitants of the land from before you; therefore we were sore afraid for our lives because of you, and have done this thing.
 25 And now, behold, we are in thine hand: as it seemeth
 26 good and right unto thee to do unto us, do. [JE] And so did he unto them, and delivered them out of the hand of the children of Israel, that they slew them not.
 27 And Joshua made them that day hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation, and for the altar of the LORD, unto this day, [R^D] in the place which he should choose.
- 10 [JE] Now it came to pass, when Adoni-zedek king of

^a Heb. *shall not be cut off from you.*

23. hewers of wood and drawers of water: Deut. xxix. 11; for the form of the curse, 2 Sam. iii. 29. The phrase is meant to express servile work in general; Hebrew, 'gatherers of wood.'

the house of my God: vi. 24 (the future temple): cf. verse 27^b.

24. Deut. vii. 1 f., xx. 10-18.

27. for the congregation: added by R^P to harmonize with verse 21; **in the place which he should choose:** Deut. xii. 5, &c.; here evidently added by R^D. Saul, in patriotic zeal, tried to exterminate the Gibeonites (2 Sam. xxi. 2). On the evidence of Neh. iii. 7, vii. 25, it has been concluded that they were subsequently incorporated in Israel. Others have traced the Gibeonites in the temple-slaves known as 'Nethinim'; Ezra ii. 58, viii. 20; Neh. vii. 60; 1 Chron. ix. 2.

x. *The Southern Campaign.* Five kings of South Canaan invest Gibeon because of its defection to Israel (verses 1-5). Joshua, in response to the appeal of Gibeon, makes a sudden attack, after a night advance, and overthrows the besiegers, their rout being completed by a hail-storm (verses 6-11). A fragment

Jerusalem heard how Joshua had taken Ai, and had^a utterly destroyed it; [R^D] as he had done to Jericho and her king, so he had done to Ai and her king; [JE] and how the inhabitants of Gibeon had made peace with Israel, and were among them; that they² feared greatly, because Gibeon was a great city, as one

^a Heb. *devoted*.

of poetry relating to this defeat is quoted, and ascribed to Joshua, which is interpreted as narrating a miracle of help to Israel (verses 12-14). Joshua and the Israelites return to Gilgal (verse 15). The hiding-place of the five kings at Makkedah is watched, till the return of the Israelites from the pursuit (verses 16-21). Joshua brings the five out from the cave, and uses them to confirm Israel's confidence in Divine aid, before they are killed, hanged, and buried in the cave (verses 22-7). There follows a formal statement of the capture and destruction of Makkedah, Libnah, Lachish (aided by Gezerites), Eglon, Hebron, and Debir (verses 29-39). This single campaign is alleged to have subjugated the whole of South Canaan, and to have included the destruction of every breathing thing (verses 40-3).

The subject-matter (apart from the editorial work of R^D, and the fragment of ancient poetry, verses 12^b-13^a) falls into three divisions: (a) the narrative of the battle of Gibeon (verses 1-15), (b) the slaughter of the kings at Makkedah (verses 15-27), (c) the catalogue of victories. Of these, the last is clearly by R^D, whilst (a) and (b) are variously assigned, within the general limits of JE.

1. **Adoni-zedek**: i. e. 'The Lord is Zedek' (Gray, *Hebrew Proper Names*, p. 141), Zedek being the name of a Phoenician deity. An inscription with the name Zedekjatan (Zedek has given) was found on the site of a Phoenician temple in 1903, and a Phoenician king bears the name Zedek-melek (Bloch, *Phoen. Gloss.*, p. 55). Note also the name Melchizedek (The king is Zedek), and cf. Adonijah (The Lord is Jah). Adoni-zedek appears in Judges i. 5 f. as Adoni-bezek (so LXX here), but the latter form is less likely (cf. Moore, *Judges*, p. 16).

Jerusalem: xv. 63 (note); called Uru-salim in the Tell el-Amarna Letters of c. 1400 B. C., seven of which are from its ruler Abdchiba (Introd., III. 2). It there appears as 'the fortified capital of a small territory under hereditary princes' (*E.B.*, 2415). Haupt explains the name as 'City of Safety' (*S.B.O.T.*, p. 70).

as he had done, &c. : cf. viii. 2 for this interpolation of R^D.

of the royal cities, and because it was greater than Ai,
 3 and all the men thereof were mighty. Wherefore Adoniz-
 zedek king of Jerusalem sent unto Hoham king of
 Hebron, and unto Piram king of Jarmuth, and unto
 Japhia king of Lachish, and unto Debir king of Eglon,
 4 saying, Come up unto me, and help me, and let us smite
 Gibeon: for it hath made peace with Joshua and with
 5 the children of Israel. Therefore the five kings of the
 Amorites, the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron,
 the king of Jarmuth, the king of Lachish, the king of
 Eglon, gathered themselves together, and went up, they
 and all their hosts, and encamped against Gibeon, and
 6 made war against it. And the men of Gibeon sent unto
 Joshua to the camp to Gilgal, saying, Slack not thy hand
 from thy servants; come up to us quickly, and save us,
 and help us: for all the kings of the Amorites that dwell
 in the hill country are gathered together against us.
 7 So Joshua went up from Gilgal, he, and all the people of
 war with him, and all the mighty men of valour.
 8 [R^D] And the LORD said unto Joshua, Fear them not:
 for I have delivered them into thine hands; there shall

2. as one of the royal cities: though itself possessing no king (note on ix. 11).

3. Hebron: the ancient and important city, near the modern El-Khalil, nineteen miles south of Jerusalem, on the road to Beersheba.

Jarmuth: (Khirbet el Yarmūk) sixteen miles west of Jerusalem, near Bêt-Nettif.

Lachish: (Tell el-Hesi) between Eleutheropolis and Gaza.

Eglon: (Kh. 'Ajlān) two miles north of Lachish, and twenty-three miles west of Hebron.

5. Amorites: Deut. i. 7 (note). The three last-named cities lie in the Shephelah rather than in the 'hill-country' (verse 6).

6. Slack not thy hand: *lit.* 'let drop' (2 Sam. xxiv. 16), here, with 'from' = 'abandon.'

8. Cf. viii. 1; Deut. iii. 2, vii. 24, &c., for ascription to R^D.

not a man of them stand before thee. [JE] Joshua 9 therefore came upon them suddenly; *for* he went up from Gilgal all the night. And the LORD discomfited 10 them before Israel, and he slew them with a great slaughter at Gibeon, and chased them by the way of the ascent of Beth-horon, and smote them to Azekah, and unto Makkedah. And it came to pass, as they fled 11 from before Israel, while they were in the going down of Beth-horon, that the LORD cast down great stones from heaven upon them unto Azekah, and they died: they were more which died with the hailstones than they whom the children of Israel slew with the sword.

[R^D] Then spake Joshua to the LORD in the day 12

9. he went up: more than twenty miles by a climbing road.

10. discomfited: Exod. xiv. 24; Judges iv. 15; 1 Sam. vii. 10; better 'threw into panic.' Note, as characteristic, how the action of Israel is identified with that of Yahweh. So, on the Moabite Stone (l. 19), Mesha describes his victory over the king of Israel by saying, 'Kemosh drove him out before me.'

Beth-horon: i. e. the Upper, or more eastern Beth-horon, five miles north-west of Gibeon, to which an 'ascent' of nearly two miles leads from the Lower Beth-horon lying to the north-west.

Azekah: xv. 35; in the Shephelah, and near Socoh (1 Sam. xvii. 1); in or near the Vale of Elah, though the exact site has not been identified (Zakariyâ?).

Makkedah: xii. 16, xv. 41; identified by Warren with el-Mughâr, south-west of Ekron, and twenty-five miles from Gibeon (*D.B.*, iii. p. 218), though this is considered doubtful by others (*H.G.H.L.*, p. 211).

11. the going down of Beth-horon: (i. e. the 'ascent' of verse 10: cf. 1 Macc. iii. 16, 24) probably extending to the whole road down from the plateau to the maritime plain. On the topography of this battle, see G. A. Smith (*H.G.H.L.*, p. 209 f.).

great stones: cf. Eccus. xlvi. 6. For the conception of hailstones as Divine weapons, see Eccus. xliii. 15; Exod. ix. 19, 25; Job xxxviii. 22; Hag. ii. 17; Rev. viii. 7 (see *E.B.*, 1937). Statistics of some remarkable hailstones are collected in *D.B.*, ii. 282, where, also, are cited some historical cases of the discomfiture of armies by hail.

12 f. An early fragment of poetry dramatically describes the

when the LORD delivered up the Amorites before the children of Israel; [JE] and he said in the sight of Israel,

Sun, ^a stand thou still upon Gibeon;
And thou, Moon, in the valley of Aijalon.

¹³ And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed,
Until the nation had avenged themselves of their enemies.

Is not this written in the book of ^b Jashar? And the sun stayed in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go
¹⁴ down about a whole day. And there was no day like that before it or after it, that the LORD hearkened unto the voice of a man: [R^D] for the LORD fought for Israel.

^a Heb. *be silent*.

^b Or, *The Upright* See 2 Sam. i. 18.

warrior's desire for time enough to achieve victory, with its fulfilment at Gibeon. As Bennett remarks, 'It means simply, "May God grant us victory before the sun sets" . . . there is no reason to suppose that the narrative originally stated that a miracle happened.' The poetry, however, was prosaically interpreted by those who have handed it down to us, i. e. in the first place by J (*Oxf. Hex.*, Bennett) or E (Holzinger, Driver), and further by R^D, in quoting it from JE. Thus, the prose introduction (verse 12^a) interprets it as the prayer for a miracle; the prose conclusion (verses 13^b, 14) asserts that the miracle took place. From such categorical statements the song of the poet is clearly distinguished (cf. Judges v. 20). 'With a touch of primitive feeling, Syrian peasants still cry in song to the sun to hasten his going down, that they may rest' (Cheyne, *E.B.*, 2333).

12. Aijalon: the town itself (now Yalo) being on the south side of the valley, about fourteen miles from Jerusalem.

13. the book of Jashar: a written collection of ancient songs, once handed down orally. The name 'Jashar' means 'upright' (either of Israel, or of its brave men): cf. the Arabic name 'Hamasa' (valour) for a similar collection. One other quotation is made from this source by the O. T., viz. David's Lament over Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. i. 18), so that the compilation of the songs must be later than the time of David. It is possible that 1 Kings viii. 12, 13 is drawn from this collection (LXX: cf. *D.B.*, ii. 551; *E.B.*, 2334; Rob. Smith, *O.T.J.C.*², 435; Ryle's *Canon*, p. 21 note).

[JE] And Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, 15
unto the camp to Gilgal.

And these five kings fled, and hid themselves in the 16
cave at Makkedah. And it was told Joshua, saying, The 17
five kings are found, hidden in the cave at Makkedah.
And Joshua said, Roll great stones unto the mouth of 18
the cave, and set men by it for to keep them : but stay 19
not ye ; pursue after your enemies, and smite the hind-
most of them ; suffer them not to enter into their cities :
for the LORD your God hath delivered them into your hand.
And it came to pass, when Joshua and the children of 20
Israel had made an end of slaying them with a very great
slaughter, till they were consumed, and the remnant which
remained of them had entered into the fenced cities, that 21
all the people returned to the camp to Joshua at
Makkedah in peace : none ^a moved his tongue against

^a Heb. *whetted*.

A similar collection called 'The Book of the Battles of Yahweh' supplies the fragment of poetry quoted in Num xxi. 14, 15.

15. The verse is identical with verse 43, and is omitted by LXX ; it is out of place (cf. v. 21) in its present position, and suggests that a new source is used, v. 16 f., to describe a particular incident of the battle.

16. *in the cave*: a principal ground for the identification of Makkedah (verse 10) with the present village of el-Mughâr ('the caves') ; 'at this site alone, of all the possible sites for Makkedah in the Philistine plain, do caves still exist . . . cut out of the sand-stone' (Warren, *D.B.*, iii. 218).

20. *fenced cities*: Heb. 'cities of fortification.' The earliest defensive walls of the Canaanites seem to have been made simply of unhewn blocks of stone, but Babylonian influence must have led to more developed means of defence. 'The Lachish of this period had crude brick walls nine or ten feet in thickness . . . Fortresses such as Lachish the nomadic Hebrews could hardly take by storm, not possessing the arms and engines of war requisite for the purpose' (*E.B.*, 1553).

21. *moved his tongue*: Heb. 'sharpened' (Exod. xi. 7: cf. Isa. x. 14) ; a proverbial way of describing the return from the pursuit 'in peace'.

22 any of the children of Israel. Then said Joshua, Open
 the mouth of the cave, and bring forth those five kings unto
 23 me out of the cave. And they did so, and brought forth
 those five kings unto him out of the cave, the king of
 Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the
 24 king of Lachish, the king of Eglon. And it came to
 pass, when they brought forth those kings unto Joshua,
 that Joshua called for all the men of Israel, and said unto
 the chiefs of the men of war which went with him, Come
 near, put your feet upon the necks of these kings. And
 they came near, and put their feet upon the necks of
 25 them. [R^D] And Joshua said unto them, Fear not, nor
 be dismayed; be strong and of good courage: for thus
 shall the LORD do to all your enemies against whom ye
 26 fight. [JE] And afterward Joshua smote them, and put
 them to death, and hanged them on five trees: and they
 27 were hanging upon the trees until the evening. And it
 came to pass at the time of the going down of the sun,
 that Joshua commanded, and they took them down off
 the trees, and cast them into the cave wherein they had
 hidden themselves, and laid great stones on the mouth
 of the cave, unto this very day.

24. chiefs: Heb. *kāzîn*, etymologically connected with the Arabic *Kadi*, or 'decider'; used, as here, of a military commander: Judges xi. 6, 11; Dan. xi. 18: of a civil dictator, Isa. iii. 6, 7: and of a ruler in general, Isa. i. 10, &c.

upon the necks: Ps. cx. 1; Isa. li. 23: such customs, for primitive thought, are not simply what they would be for us, expressive or symbolic actions; they belong to the great realm of symbolic magic; they confirm and help to repeat the victory won. Assyrian sculptures illustrate the practice. See *Introd.*, p. 266.

26. See the note on viii. 29.

27. unto this very day: i. e. some cave, with rocks lying across its mouth, was pointed out in the writer's time as the place where the bones of these kings lay.

[R^D] And Joshua took Makkedah on that day, and ²⁸ smote it with the edge of the sword, and the king thereof; he ^a utterly destroyed them and all the souls that were therein, he left none remaining: and he did to the king of Makkedah as he had done unto the king of Jericho.

And Joshua passed from Makkedah, and all Israel with ²⁹ him, unto Libnah, and fought against Libnah: and the ³⁰ LORD delivered it also, and the king thereof, into the hand of Israel; and he smote it with the edge of the sword, and all the souls that were therein; he left none remaining in it; and he did unto the king thereof as he had done unto the king of Jericho.

And Joshua passed from Libnah, and all Israel with ³¹ him, unto Lachish, and encamped against it, and fought against it: and the LORD delivered Lachish into the ³² hand of Israel, and he took it on the second day, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and all the souls that were therein, according to all that he had done to Libnah.

Then Horam king of Gezer came up to help Lachish; ³³ and Joshua smote him and his people, until he had left him none remaining.

^a Heb. *devoted*.

x. 28-39. The principal items in this southern campaign are noted according to a regular formula. The emphasis falls, in each case, on the completeness of the 'devotion' (*herem*).

28. them: read 'it,' as in verse 37 (MSS., Targ., LXX of Luc.).

as he had done unto the king of Jericho: not stated in chap. vi; probably the hanging of viii. 29 is meant (cf. x. 1).

29. Libnah: in the Shephelah (xv. 42), site unknown, but between Makkedah and Lachish.

33. Gezer: Tell Jezer, six miles south of Lydda (cf. *H.G.H.L.*, p. 216). It is named in the Tell el-Amarna Letters as captured by invaders; also in an inscription of Merneptah of the thirteenth century. Israel did not take it (xvi. 10: cf. Judges i. 29).

34 And Joshua passed from Lachish, and all Israel with him,
unto Eglon; and they encamped against it, and fought
35 against it; and they took it on that day, and smote it
with the edge of the sword, and all the souls that were
therein he ^a utterly destroyed that day, according to all
that he had done to Lachish.

36 And Joshua went up from Eglon, and all Israel with
37 him, unto Hebron; and they fought against it: and they
took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and the
king thereof, and all the cities thereof, and all the souls
that were therein; he left none remaining, according to all
that he had done to Eglon; but he ^a utterly destroyed it,
and all the souls that were therein.

38 And Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, to
39 Debir; and fought against it: and he took it, and the
king thereof, and all the cities thereof; and they smote
them with the edge of the sword, and ^a utterly destroyed
all the souls that were therein; he left none remaining:
as he had done to Hebron, so he did to Debir, and to
the king thereof; as he had done also to Libnah, and to
the king thereof.

40 So Joshua smote all the land, the hill country, and the
South, and the lowland, and the slopes, and all their

^a Heb. *devoted*.

37. the king thereof: already killed and hanged, according to v. 26; the inconsistency is due to the different source (R^D) of the present statement, which is omitted by LXX in consequence. Contrast, also, xiv. 13, xv. 13; Judges i. 10.

38. Debir: called Kiriath-Sepher in xv. 15, Judges i. 11; identified by some with ed-Dahariyeh, eleven miles south-west of Hebron (*H.G.H.L.*, 279; but see p. 670, and *E.B.*, ii. 2681; Moore, *Judges*, p. 25).

x. 40-43. General summary of the southern campaign (cf. Judges i. 9).

40. the South: see on Deut. i. 7.

the slopes: or 'cliffs' (Gray, *Numbers*, p. 286) xii. 3, xiii.

kings; he left none remaining: but he ^autterly destroyed all that breathed, as the LORD, the God of Israel, commanded. And Joshua smote them from Kadesh-barnea ⁴¹ even unto Gaza, and all the country of Goshen, even unto Gibeon. And all these kings and their land did ⁴² Joshua take at one time, because the LORD, the God of Israel, fought for Israel. And Joshua returned, and all ⁴³ Israel with him, unto the camp to Gilgal.

[JE] And it came to pass, when Jabin king of Hazor heard **11**

^a Heb. *devoted*.

20; connected with Pisgah (Deut. iii. 17, iv. 49) and with Arnon (Num. xxi. 15); here more generally, it would seem, for the regions west and east of the 'hill-country.'

all that breathed: Deut. xx. 16.

41. Kadesh-barnea: (Deut. i. 2) 'Ain Kadis, fifty miles south of Beersheba.

Gaza: (Deut. ii. 23) near the coast, the most southern of the chief Philistine cities.

the country of Goshen: (xi. 16); not, of course, that of Egypt (Gen. xvi. 28); the reference is obscure, since no place or district of this name is known in the south of Palestine. The town of this name in the hill-country of Judah (xv. 51) cannot be intended.

xi. The Northern Campaign: general review. Jabin of Hazor forms a league of northern kings (verses 1-4). A battle is fought with them by the waters of Merom, in which they are utterly defeated and destroyed (verses 4-9). Hazor, the centre of the league, is captured and burnt; the other cities are taken, but not burnt; the inhabitants, however, are in every case destroyed, the spoil only, including the cattle, being retained by Israel (verses 10-15). The two campaigns, south and north, are briefly noticed; the Gibeonites form the solitary exception to the policy of extermination (verses 16-20). Joshua also destroyed the Anakim, except some in Philistia (verses 21, 22). Thus the whole land was taken for division amongst Israel (verse 23).

The narrative of the defeat of the northern league against Israel (xi. 1-9) is parallel to that of the southern (x. 1-27), and is apparently from the same source (JE) with additions (especially in verses 2, 3) by R^D. The subsequent summaries (xi. 10-23) are by Deuteronomistic writers (verses 21-3 may belong to a different stratum from the rest).

thereof, that he sent to Jobab king of Madon, and to the
 2 king of Shimron, and to the king of Achshaph, [R^D] and
 to the kings that were on the north, in the hill country,
 and in the Arabah south of Chinneroth, and in the low-
 3 land, and in ^a the heights of Dor on the west, to the
 Canaanite on the east and on the west, and the Amorite,

^a Or, *Naphoth Dor*

1. Jabin king of Hazor: described in Judges iv. 2f. as the 'King of Canaan.' Sisera, said to be his general (Judges iv. 2), is overthrown by the tribes Zebulun and Naphtali under Barak and Deborah. The 'Song of Deborah' (Judges v), which celebrates this victory and is our earliest source for the history of Israel, does not mention Jabin. Probably there were two traditions relating to Jabin and Sisera respectively, which have been combined by making Sisera the general of Jabin. 'The war of Zebulun and Naphtali against Jabin, king of Hazor, and his allies is recounted in Joshua xi. 1-9, where it is magnified into the conquest of all the northern Canaanites by Joshua and all Israel, in the same way in which the victory of Judah and Simeon over Adonizedek (Adoni-bezek) of Jerusalem (Jud. i. 4-7) is elaborated in Joshua x into the account of Joshua's conquest of all Southern Canaan' (Moore, *Judges*, p. 109).

Hazor: somewhere near Kedesh-Naphtali and Lake Hûleh; but the site of this, as of other places named, has not been identified. Hazor belonged to Naphtali (xix. 36), Shimron to Zebulun (xix. 15), Achshaph to Asher (xix. 25). With possible identifications, the four towns broadly represent Galilee.

2. hill country . . . lowland: i. e. Galilee, and the coast north of Carmel respectively.

the Arabah south of Chinneroth: i. e. the Jordan Valley, south of the Sea of Gennesareth (xii. 3, xiii. 27; Num. xxxiv. 11). The town of Kinnereth (xix. 35; Deut. iii. 17), of unknown site, existed already in the sixteenth century B. C. (Thutmosis III), and supplied the earlier name for the Sea of Gennesareth or Galilee.

the heights of Dor: Dor (Tanturah) was an important Phoenician settlement on the coast between Carmel and Caesarea. Its 'heights' or 'uplands' are probably the low hills south of Carmel (Conder, *D.B.*, i. 617, who, however, doubts the identification with Tanturah).

3. Cf. Deut. vii. 1 for the names. The **Hivites** seem to belong to Central Palestine (ix. 7), and probably 'Hittites' and 'Hivites' should be interchanged (as in LXX, B). 'The Hittites of the Lebanon in the O. T. are, so far as we can judge, Semites, of the

and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Jebusite in the hill country, and the Hivite under Hermon in the land of Mizpah. [JE] And they went out, they and all their 4 hosts with them, much people, even as the sand that is upon the sea shore in multitude, with horses and chariots very many. And all these kings met together; and they 5 came and pitched together at the waters of Merom, to fight with Israel. And the LORD said unto Joshua, Be 6 not afraid because of them: for to-morrow at this time will I deliver them up all slain before Israel: thou shalt hough their horses, and burn their chariots with fire. So Joshua 7 came, and all the people of war with him, against them by the waters of Merom suddenly, and fell upon them. And the LORD delivered them into the hand of Israel, 8 and they smote them, and chased them unto great Zidon,

Palestinian rather than the Aramaean branch of the race' (Moore, *Judges*, p. 82), and are not to be confused with the Hittite empire of the Egyptian wars. For a statement of our present knowledge of the Hittites, see Jastrow's article in *E.B.*, 2094-2100.

the land of Mizpah (i. e. of the 'watch-tower'); some district north-east of the waters of Merom.

4. chariots: plated with iron (xvii. 16); the Hittite chariot had usually two horses and three riders, the driver, the bowman, and the shield-bearer (see the illustrations in *E.B.*, 729, or in *S.B.O.T.*, frontispiece to 'Joshua').

5. met together: Heb. 'assembled by appointment' (Ps. xlviii. 4).

the waters of Merom: usually identified (as in the map prefixed to this volume) with Lake Hüleh, the highest of the three lakes in the Jordan Valley (*H.G.H.L.*, p. 481); but this is doubted by Buhl (*Geographie des alten Palästina*, p. 113), and by recent commentators. The geography of this campaign is obscure and uncertain.

6. hough: 'hamstring,' i. e. cut the tendon of the joint in the hind leg of a quadruped which corresponds to the ankle in man (cf. 2 Sam. viii. 4; Gen. xlix. 6); a custom due either to Israel's inability to use horses and chariots (Steuernagel), or to the belief that trust in Yahweh would be lessened by the use of such aids (Dillmann): cf. Isa. ii. 7; Deut. xvii. 16.

8. great Zidon: (xix. 28) 'great,' to distinguish it from a smaller

and unto Misrephoth-maim, and unto the valley of Mizpeh eastward ; and they smote them, until they left 9 them none remaining. And Joshua did unto them as the LORD bade him : he houghed their horses, and burnt their chariots with fire.

- 10 [R^D] And Joshua turned back at that time, and took Hazor, and smote the king thereof with the sword : for Hazor beforetime was the head of all those kingdoms.
 11 And they smote all the souls that were therein with the edge of the sword, ^a utterly destroying them : there was none left that breathed : and he burnt Hazor with fire.
 12 And all the cities of those kings, and all the kings of them, did Joshua take, and he smote them with the edge of the sword, and ^b utterly destroyed them ; as Moses the
 13 servant of the LORD commanded. But as for the cities that stood on their mounds, Israel burned none of them,
 14 save Hazor only ; that did Joshua burn. And all the spoil of these cities, and the cattle, the children of Israel took for a prey unto themselves ; but every man they smote with the edge of the sword, until they had destroyed them,

^a Heb. *devoting*.

^b Heb. *devoted*.

place of the same name, for whose existence there is cuneiform authority.

Misrephoth-maim : site unknown, but apparently on the sea-coast (xiii. 6). 'Ain-Mesherfe, south of the 'Ladder of Tyre,' is suggested.

10 f. Cf. the similar, but more detailed, review of the southern campaign, x. 28-43.

the head : see on verse 1.

13. on their mounds : (Jer. xxx. 18) Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac *tēl* = 'mound,' so frequent and familiar in place-names ; used in Deut. xiii. 16, Jer. xlix. 2 of the 'heap' of ruins of a destroyed city. These elevated cities are apparently supposed to be reserved for the settlement of Israelites.

14. As in the case of Ai (viii. 27).

neither left they any that breathed. As the LORD com- 15
manded Moses his servant, so did Moses command
Joshua: and so did Joshua; ^a he left nothing undone of
all that the LORD commanded Moses.

So Joshua took all that land, the hill country, and all 16
the South, and all the land of Goshen, and the lowland,
and the Arabah, and the hill country of Israel, and the
lowland of the same; from ^b mount Halak, that goeth up 17
to Seir, even unto Baal-gad in the valley of Lebanon
under mount Hermon: and all their kings he took, and
smote them, and put them to death. Joshua made war 18
a long time with all those kings. There was not a city 19
that made peace with the children of Israel, save the
Hivites the inhabitants of Gibeon: they took all in
battle. For it was of the LORD to ^c harden their hearts, 20
to come against Israel in battle, that he might ^d utterly
destroy them, that they ^e might have no favour, but

^a Heb. *he removed nothing.*

^b Or, *the bare mountain*

^c Heb. *make strong.*

^d Heb. *devote.*

^e Or, *might not sue for favour*

15. A keynote of the book, stating the dominant conception of R^D, in his compilation of the narrative of the Conquest. See *Intro.*, pp. 261, 267.

16-20. A combined review of the results of the two campaigns.

17. mount Halak, that goeth up to Seir: xii. 7; the 'Seir' is that of Deut. ii. 5, in the extreme south of Palestine, west of the Arabah.

Baal-gad: xii. 7, xiii. 5 (so called from the worship of the god of Fortune practised there); perhaps Caesarea Philippi (Panias), the objection being that the latter can hardly be said to lie within the 'valley-plain' of Lebanon. The first part of this verse corresponds to our English phrase 'from Land's End to John o' Groats.'

18. a long time: see on xiv. 10, implying five or seven years.

20. harden (their hearts): 'make obstinate'; Exod. iv. 21, &c. (of Pharaoh). Their obstinacy is 'of Yahweh,' i. e. it originated in His purpose and came through His inspiration.

favour: i. e. from Israel (Esra ix. 8, R.V. 'grace' from

that he might destroy them, as the LORD commanded Moses.

- 21 And Joshua came at that time, and cut off the Anakim from the hill country, from Hebron, from Debir, from Anab, and from all the hill country of Judah, and from all the hill country of Israel: Joshua ^a utterly destroyed
 22 them with their cities. There was none of the Anakim left in the land of the children of Israel: only in Gaza, in
 23 Gath, and in Ashdod, did some remain. So Joshua took the whole land, according to all that the LORD spake unto Moses; and Joshua gave it for an inheritance unto Israel according to their divisions by their tribes. And the land had rest from war.

- 12 Now these are the kings of the land, whom the

^a Heb. *devoted*.

Yahweh); elsewhere the word is used for 'supplication for favour,' whence comes R. V. marg.

21-23. An appendix on the expulsion of the giants by Joshua.

21. at that time: cf. x. 36, to which reference is possibly made.

Anakim: the (long)-necked men, i.e. those of great height; xiv. 12, xv. 13, 14 (expelled by Caleb); Judges i. 10 (expelled by Judah); Deut. i. 28; Num. xiii. 22, 28, 33. They are generally connected with Hebron, but are here more widely distributed.

Debir: x. 38.

Anab: xv. 50; the name is still found near to Debir, fourteen miles south-west of Hebron.

22. Gaza, Gath, Ashdod: the well-known cities of Philistia, the first and the third near or on the sea-coast, the second inland, probably at Tell-es-Sāfiyeh, at the entrance to the Vale of Elah (*H.G.H.L.*, p. 194 f.). An illustration of the tradition of this verse is supplied by 'Goliath of Gath' (1 Sam. xvii. 4).

23. The two halves of this verse summarize respectively the two halves of the Book of Joshua, viz. the Conquest (chaps. i-xii) and the Division of Canaan (chaps. xiii-xxiv).

had rest: as in xiv. 15.

xii. Catalogue of the conquered kings on the east (verses 1-6)

children of Israel smote, and possessed their land beyond Jordan toward the sunrising, from the valley of Arnon unto mount Hermon, and all the Arabah eastward: Sihon king of the Amorites, who dwelt in ² Heshbon, and ruled from Aroer, which is on the edge of the valley of Arnon, and ^a *the city that is in* the middle of the valley, and half Gilead, even unto the river Jabbok, the border of the children of Ammon; and the ³ Arabah unto the sea of Chinneroth, eastward, and unto the sea of the Arabah, even the Salt Sea, eastward, the way to Beth-jeshimoth; and on the south, under the slopes of Pisgah: and the border of Og king of Bashan, ⁴ of the remnant of the Rephaim, who dwelt at Ashtaroth and at Edrei, and ruled in mount Hermon, and in ⁵ Salecah, and in all Bashan, unto the border of the Geshurites and the Maacathites, and half Gilead, the border of Sihon king of Heshbon. Moses the servant ⁶ of the LORD and the children of Israel smote them: and Moses the servant of the LORD gave it for a possession

* See Deut. ii. 36.

and on the west (verses 7-24) of Jordan; Sihon (verses 4-5) and Og (verses 4-5) having been overcome, and their territory divided, by Moses (verse 6), whilst Joshua occupied and assigned the western territory (verses 7, 8), viz. that of the thirty-one (or thirty) kings here specified (verses 9-24).

The first half of this summary is based on Deut. ii, iii; the second incorporates the deeds of Joshua from Joshua vi f., but adds (from some unknown source) fifteen kings, viz. those of Geder, Hormah, Arad, Adullam, Bethel, Tappuah, Hephher, Aphek of the Sharon (LXX), Tanaach, Megiddo, Kedesh, Jokneam, Dor, Tirzah, the nations of Galilee (LXX).

1-6. For notes on the particular names, see Deut. ii and iii, where all will be found except

Beth-jeshimoth: (xiii. 20; Num. xxxiii. 49) probably Suweimeh, at the north-east corner of the Dead Sea; here named as a southern limit to the territory of Sihon; and

Ashtaroth: ix. 10; Deut. i. 4.

unto the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh.

7 And these are the kings of the land whom Joshua and the children of Israel smote beyond Jordan westward, from Baal-gad in the valley of Lebanon even unto
 8 a mount Halak, that goeth up to Seir; and Joshua gave it unto the tribes of Israel for a possession according to
 9 their divisions; in the hill country, and in the lowland, and in the Arabah, and in the slopes, and in the wilderness, and in the South; the Hittite, the Amorite, and the Canaanite, the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the
 10 Jebusite: the king of Jericho, one; the king of Ai, which is beside Beth-el, one; the king of Jerusalem,
 11 one; the king of Hebron, one; the king of Jarmuth, one;
 12 the king of Lachish, one; the king of Eglon, one;
 13 the king of Gezer, one; the king of Debir, one; the

* See ch. xi. 17.

7. Cf. xi. 17.

8. Cf. ix. 1, x. 40, xi. 2, 16; the wilderness of Judah (xv. 61; Judges i. 16) is added, i. e. the district between the Dead Sea and the 'hill-country,' known as Jeshimon (*H.G.H.L.*, p. 313).

9 f. Jericho (vi. 1 f.), Ai (vii. 2 f.), Jerusalem (x. 3, not itself taken), Hebron (x. 36), Jarmuth (x. 3), Lachish (x. 31), Eglon (x. 34), Gezer (x. 33), Debir (x. 38), Geder (not known, here only), Hormah (Num. xiv. 45), Arad (Num. xxi. 1; Tell Arad, seventeen miles south-east of Hebron, *H.G.H.L.*, p. 278), Libnah (x. 29), Adullam (Gen. xxxviii. 1; 'Aid el-mâ, sixteen miles south-west of Jerusalem, *H.G.H.L.*, p. 229), Makkedah (x. 28), Bethel (cf. viii. 17), Tappuah (xvi. 8), Hephher (neither known, but in Central Palestine), Aphek (not known), Lasharon (read with LXX, 'which is in Sharon,' and connect with previous name), Madon, Hazor, Shimron-meron, Achshaph (xi. 1, 2), Taanach (xvii. 11, xxi. 25; south of the Plain of Esdraelon), Megiddo (probably Lejjun, opposite Jezreel, *H.G.H.L.*, p. 386), Kedesh (xix. 37, north-west of Lake Hûleh, i. e. Kedesh-Naphtali), Jokneam (xix. 11, xxi. 34; north-west of Esdraelon), Dor (xi. 2), Goliim (as R. V. marg.; read with LXX, 'in Galilee' for 'in Gilgal'), Tirzah (in Mount Ephraim, site disputed, *H.G.H.L.*, p. 355: cf. *E.B.*, 5102).

king of Geder, one; the king of Hormah, one; the king ¹⁴
 of Arad, one; the king of Libnah, one; the king of ¹⁵
 Adullam, one; the king of Makkedah, one; the king of ¹⁶
 Beth-el, one; the king of Tappuah, one; the king of ¹⁷
 Hopher, one; the king of Aphek, one; the king of ¹⁸
 Lashsharon, one; the king of Madon, one; the king of ¹⁹
 Hazor, one; the king of Shimron-meron, one; the king ²⁰
 of Achshaph, one; the king of Taanach, one; the king ²¹
 of Megiddo, one; the king of Kedesh, one; the king of ²²
 Jokneam in Carmel, one; the king of Dor in ^a the height ²³
 of Dor, one; the king of ^b Goiim in Gilgal, one; the ²⁴
 king of Tirzah, one: all the kings thirty and one.

[JE] Now Joshua was old and well stricken in years; ¹³

^a Or, *Naphath-dor* ^b Or, *nations*

XIII f. THE DIVISION OF THE LAND.

Here begins the second half of the book, devoted to the Division of the Land, whose conquest has been described in chaps. i-xii. It belongs chiefly to P (see Introd., II. 3), and it should be noticed that the boundaries for the nine and a half tribes (cf. Num. xxxiv. 1-15) agree substantially with those of the land allotted by Ezekiel for the twelve tribes, on their restoration from exile (Ezek. xlvii. 13-20). 'Here, as in other things, what Ezekiel embodies in his description of the ideal future, P embodies in his account of the idealized past' (Gray, *Numbers*, p. 453).

xiii. Yahweh recapitulates to Joshua the districts left unconquered, within the ideal boundaries (verses 1-6), and bids him divide the land amongst the (western) tribes (verse 7). Summary of the eastern territory (verses 8-12). An exception to the occupation (Geshurites, verse 13), and to the participation (Levi, verse 14, cf. verse 33). Inheritance of Reuben (verses 15-23), of Gad (verses 24-8), and of Eastern Manasseh (verses 29-31), completing the division of the country east of Jordan (verse 32).

xiii. 1-14 has been expanded by the Deuteronomistic editor from a fragment of JE, representing the conquest of the Promised Land as incomplete. The remainder of the chapter belongs to what is now the main source, P.

1. **well stricken in years**: the Hebrew idiom is 'advanced in

and the LORD said unto him, Thou art old and well stricken in years, and there remaineth yet very much
 2 land to be possessed. [R^D] This is the land that yet remaineth : all the regions of the Philistines, and all the
 3 Geshurites ; from ^a the Shihor, which is before Egypt,

^a Commonly called, *the brook of Egypt*. See Num. xxxiv. 5.

days' ; in xxiv. 29 Joshua is said to have been 110 when he died. See note on i. 1.

remaineth, &c. : this verse, with 7^a, may have referred originally to the internal territory ; but it has been interpreted by R^D in verses 2-6 of the territory external to Israel, on the far south and north. Kuenen (*Hex.* p. 135) and others connect it with xviii. 2 f., as referring to the land to be divided among the seven tribes (after the settlement of Judah and Joseph). If this is correct, R^D has altered 'seven' to 'nine and a half' in verse 7, when making the editorial transference.

2 f. Recapitulation of unconquered territory, on the borders of Israel.

Philistines : particularized in verse 3, where are named the inhabitants of their five principal cities, viz. Gaza, Ashkelon, and Ashdod on or near the coast, Gath in the Shephelah, and Ekron eight miles south-east of Lydda. Their 'regions' extended along the Maritime Plain from Joppa for forty miles, to the south of Gaza. For the history of this remarkable people, see Moore in *E.B.*, s.v., or G. A. Smith, *H.G.H.L.*, chap. ix.

Geshurites : 1 Sam. xxvii. 8, where they are located south of Philistia, in the extreme south-west of Palestine. The name occurs also in verse 11 (cf. xii. 5 ; Deut. iii. 14), but of another group in the north-east of Palestine.

3. the Shihor : denoting the Pelusiac arm of the Nile in Isa. xxiii. 3 ; Jer. ii. 18 ; so, possibly, here and in 1 Chron. xiii. 5. In xv. 4, 47 (cf. Num. xxxiv. 5 ; 1 Kings viii. 65 ; 2 Kings xxiv. 7 ; Isa. xxvii. 12 ; 2 Chron. vii. 8) the south-west border of Judah is defined by the 'Brook of Egypt,' identified with the Wady el-'Arish, flowing into the Mediterranean midway between Gaza and Pelusium. With this R. V. marg. identifies 'the Shihor.' Authorities are divided as to these two views (cf. Wilson, in *D.B.*, iv. 498).

before Egypt : i. e. east of it (Deut. xxxii. 49, xxxiv. 1, E. V. 'over against'), according to the familiar Hebrew idiom which takes the left hand to represent the north (xix. 27 ; Gen. xiv. 15 R. V.), the right hand the south (Ps. lxxxix. 12), and behind, the west (Judges xviii. 12).

even unto the border of Ekron northward, *which* is counted to the Canaanites: the five lords of the Philistines; the Gazites, and the Ashdodites, the Ashkelonites, the Gittites, and the Ekronites; ^a also 4 the Avvim, on the south: all the land of the Canaanites, and Mearah that belongeth to the Zidonians, unto Aphek, to the border of the Amorites: and the land of 5 the Gebalites, and all Lebanon, toward the sunrising, from Baal-gad under mount Hermon unto the entering in of Hamath: all the inhabitants of the hill country 6 from Lebanon unto Misrephoth-maim, even all the Zidonians; them will I drive out from before the

^a Or, *also the Avvim: from the south, all &c.*

which is counted to the Canaanites: and is therefore part of the (ideal) inheritance of Israel. The Philistines may have seized this territory shortly before the Israelite invasion; they are not mentioned in the Tell el-Amarna Letters (1400 B.C.), nor do they appear on the monuments of Ramses II (1340-1273). (Cf. *E.B.*, 3718, and see on Deut. ii. 23.)

also the Avvim: Deut. ii. 23; with this connect the words 'on the south' as in R. V. text, following the versions.

4. all the land of the Canaanites: Deut. i. 7; here, also, of Phoenicia.

Mearah is unknown; **Aphek** = Aphaca (Afka), at the mouth of the river Adonis (Nahr Ibrāhīm); for **Amorites**, see on Deut. i. 7.

5. the land of the Gebalites: Gebal = Byblus, the ancient Phoenician city, and the centre of the Tammuz cult, four miles north of the Adonis (now Jebeil).

Baal-gad: xi. 17.

the entering in of Hamath: a phrase frequent in definitions of the north boundary. Hamath lay on the Orontes, 150 miles north of Dan; 'the entrance to Hamath' is either the mouth of the pass between Lebanon and Hermon, as the starting-point of the road to Hamath (Driver on Amos vi. 2, *Cam. Bib.*), or the plain Hōms, thirty miles south of Hamā (Moore, *Judges*, p. 80).

6. Misrephoth-maim: xi. 8; the first part of the verse comprehends (from east to west) the territory named in verses 4, 5.

them will I drive out: the 'I' is emphatic in the Hebrew; Yahweh makes Himself responsible for the expulsion of the

children of Israel : only allot thou it unto Israel for an
 7 inheritance, as I have commanded thee. [JE] Now
 therefore divide this land for an inheritance [R^D] unto
 8 the nine tribes, and the half tribe of Manasseh. With
 him the Reubenites and the Gadites received their
 inheritance, which Moses gave them, beyond Jordan
 eastward, even as Moses the servant of the LORD gave
 9 them ; from Aroer, that is on the edge of the valley of
 Arnon, and the city that is in the middle of the valley,
 10 and all the ^aplain of Medeba unto Dibon ; and all the
 cities of Sihon king of the Amorites, which reigned in
 Heshbon, unto the border of the children of Ammon ;
 11 and Gilead, and the border of the Geshurites and
 Maacathites, and all mount Hermon, and all Bashan
 12 unto Salecah ; all the kingdom of Og in Bashan, which
 reigned in Ashtaroth and in Edrei (the same was left of
 the remnant of the Rephaim) ; for these did Moses

^aOr, *table land*

peoples of these territories, so that Joshua may now proceed to the division of the land.

allot : xxiii. 4 ; *lit.* ' make (the lot) to fall ' : cf. Num. xxxiv. 2.

as I have commanded thee : i. 6 ; Deut. iii. 28, xxxi. 7.

7. the nine tribes : i. e. excluding Reuben and Gad, and the half of Manasseh, whose territory is already assigned on the east of Jordan. The first half of the verse continues verse 1, ' this land ' being Canaan, not, of course, the land unconquered.

8. With him does not connect properly with verse 7, since ' him ' must denote the eastern half of Manasseh, whilst verse 7 (to which the pronoun would refer) speaks of Western Manasseh. Some words have dropped out between verse 7 and verse 8, e. g. ' For the half tribe of Manasseh and ' (Dillmann). LXX inserts ' from the Jordan unto the Great Sea in the direction of the sunset shalt thou give it. The Great Sea shall be the boundary,' and reads in verse 8, ' to the (two) tribes, and to the half of the tribe of Manasseh, to Reuben and to Gad gave Moses,' &c.

8 f. which Moses gave them : xii. 1-5 ; Deut. iii. 8-13, where see the notes.

smite, and drave them out. [J] Nevertheless the 13
 children of Israel drave not out the Geshurites, nor the
 Maacathites: but Geshur and Maacath dwelt in the
 midst of Israel, unto this day. [R^D] Only unto the 14
 tribe of Levi he gave none inheritance; the offerings of
 the LORD, the God of Israel, made by fire are his
 inheritance, as he spake unto him.

[P] And Moses gave unto the tribe of the children of 15
 Reuben according to their families. And their border 16
 was from Aroer, that is on the edge of the valley of
 Arnon, and the city that is in the middle of the valley,
 and all the ^aplain by Medeba; Heshbon, and all her 17
 cities that are in the ^aplain; Dibon, and Bamoth-baal,
 and Beth-baal-meon; and Jahaz, and Kedemoth, and 18
 Mephaath; and Kiriathaim, and Sibmah, and Zereth- 19
 shahar in the mount of the valley; and Beth-peor, and 20
 the ^bslopes of Pisgah, and Beth-jeshimoth; and all the 21
 cities of the ^aplain, and all the kingdom of Sihon king
 of the Amorites, which reigned in Heshbon, whom
 Moses smote with the chiefs of Midian, Evi, and Rekem,

^a Or, *table land*

^b Or, *springs*

13. See Introd., III. 1 (a), for the important evidence of this and similar statements (incompleteness of conquest).

14. the tribe of Levi: verse 33, xiv. 3; Deut. x. 9, xviii. 1 (notes).

the offerings . . . made by fire: one word in Hebrew, which has here been interpolated, as the grammar of the Hebrew sentence shows (LXX omits). The sentence read originally as verse 33^b.

xiii. 15-33. Tribal territories east of Jordan (P). Cf. Num. xxxii. 34 f. Details as to the site (where identified) and history of the cities hereafter catalogued may be found most conveniently in the Bible Dictionaries, under the respective names; points of special interest only will be noticed here.

xiii. 15-23. *The Inheritance of Reuben.*

and Zur, and Hur, and Reba, the princes of Sihon, that
 22 dwelt in the land. Balaam also the son of Beor, the
 soothsayer, did the children of Israel slay with the sword
 23 among the rest of their slain. And the border of the
 children of Reuben was Jordan, and the border *thereof*.
 This was the inheritance of the children of Reuben
 according to their families, the cities and the villages
 thereof.

24 And Moses gave unto the tribe of Gad, unto the
 25 children of Gad, according to their families. And their
 border was Jazer, and all the cities of Gilead, and half
 the land of the children of Ammon, unto Aroer that is
 26 before Rabbah; and from Heshbon unto Ramath-
 mizpeh, and Betonim; and from Mahanaim unto the
 27 border of ^a Debir; and in the valley, Beth-haram, and
 Beth-nimrah, and Succoth, and Zaphon, the rest of the
 kingdom of Sihon king of Heshbon, ^b Jordan and the
 border *thereof*, unto the uttermost part of the sea of
 28 Chinnereth beyond Jordan eastward. This is the inherit-

^a Or, *Lidebir*

^b Or, *having Jordan for a border*

21. the chiefs of Midian: Num. xxxi. 8, where their overthrow is mentioned apart from that of Sihon.

22. Balaam: named with the Midianites in Num. xxxi. 8 also; the term applied to him, soothsayer (or diviner, Deut. xviii. 10), originally denoted divination by drawing lots with headless arrows at a sanctuary (see on vii. 14). Its later use, as here by P, is in a more general and disparaging sense, viz. the 'oracle-monger' (Gray, *Numbers*, p. 320). For the story of Balaam, see Num. xxii-xxiv, esp. xxii. 5-6; cf. Joshua xxiv. 9, 10.

23. and the border thereof: should be rendered, as in Deut. iii. 16, R. V. marg., 'for a border.'

xiii. 24-28. *The Inheritance of Gad.*

26. Debir: read with R. V. marg. (Lo-debar, 2 Sam. ix. 4, xvii. 27, may be meant).

27. the sea of Chinnereth: xi. 2.

ance of the children of Gad according to their families, the cities and the villages thereof. -

And Moses gave *inheritance* unto the half tribe of 29 Manasseh: and it was for the half tribe of the children of Manasseh according to their families. And their 30 border was from Mahanaim, all Bashan, all the kingdom of Og king of Bashan, and all ^a the towns of Jair, which are in Bashan, threescore cities: and half Gilead, and 31 Ashtaroth, and Edrei, the cities of the kingdom of Og in Bashan, were for the children of Machir the son of Manasseh, even for the half of the children of Machir according to their families.

These are the inheritances which Moses distributed in 32 the plains of Moab, beyond the Jordan at Jericho, eastward. But unto the tribe of Levi Moses gave none 33 inheritance: the LORD, the God of Israel, is their inheritance, as he spake unto them.

And these are the inheritances which the children of 14

^a See Num. xxxij. 41.

xiii. 29-31. *The Inheritance of East Manasseh.*

30. **the towns of Jair**: 'tent-villages': Deut. iii. 14 (note).

31. **half Gilead**: contrast verse 25 (verses 29-31 probably form a later stratum of P).

Machir the son of Manasseh: Deut. iii. 15; the following words of the verse appear to be a corrective gloss in the light of Num. xxvi. 29, where all Manassites are sons of Machir. See on xvii. 1.

xiii. 32, 33. Subscription to account of the division of eastern territory.

32. Num. xxxiv. 15; Deut. xxxiv. 1.

33. See on verse 14; here probably a later addition (omitted by LXX).

xiv. Introduction to the division of western territory (verses 1-5). Caleb claims Hebron, according to the promise of Moses (verses 6-9). He proposes to drive out the Anakim who are

Israel took in the land of Canaan, which Eleazar the priest, and Joshua the son of Nun, and the heads of the fathers' *houses* of the tribes of the children of Israel, distributed unto them, by the lot of their inheritance, as the LORD commanded by the hand of Moses, for the nine tribes, and for the half tribe. For Moses had given the inheritance of the two tribes and the half tribe beyond Jordan: but unto the Levites he gave none inheritance among them. For the children of Joseph were two tribes, Manasseh and Ephraim: and they gave no portion unto the Levites in the land, save cities to dwell in, with the ^asuburbs thereof for their cattle and

^a Or, *pasture lands*

there (verses 10-12). Joshua accordingly gives Hebron to Caleb (verses 13-15).

The account of the division of the country west of Jordan (xiv. 1-xix. 51) is drawn chiefly from P, to whom verses 1-5 of this chapter belong, originally preceded by xviii. 1 (Dillmann). The remainder of the chapter lies before us as by R^D, though probably based on E.

1. Eleazar the priest: the son and successor of Aaron (Deut. x. 6), who, according to P (Num. xxxiv. 16-29), with Joshua, and a prince from each tribe, has been appointed to divide the land by lot (Num. xxvi. 54-6, xxxiii. 54). Contrast the different representation of JE in xviii. 6, 8-10.

the heads of the fathers': a shorter form of the phrase in xxii. 14 (note).

2. by the lot of their inheritance: read (with change of a single Hebrew vowel) 'by lot, as their inheritance,' connecting with verse 1.

as Yahweh commanded: Num. xxxiv. 13.

3 f. The writer proceeds to explain the number $9\frac{1}{2}$ by (a) the subtraction of the $2\frac{1}{2}$ trans-Jordanic tribes, (b) the exclusion of Levi, (c) the two branches of the Josephites counting as two tribes (Gen. xlviii. 5).

4. cities to dwell in: for these wholly ideal Levitical cities, cf. Num. xxxv. 1-8; Lev. xxv. 32-4.

suburbs: better R. V. marg. 'pasture lands,' held in common (xxi. 11). The Hebrew word is, literally, 'a place where cattle are driven.'

for their substance. As the LORD commanded Moses, 5
so the children of Israel did, and they divided the land.

[(E) R^D] Then the children of Judah drew nigh unto 6
Joshua in Gilgal: and Caleb the son of Jephunneh the
Kenizzite said unto him, Thou knowest the thing that
the LORD spake unto Moses the man of God concerning
me and concerning thee in Kadesh-barnea. Forty years 7
old was I when Moses the servant of the LORD sent me
from Kadesh-barnea to spy out the land; and I brought
him word again as it was in mine heart. Nevertheless 8
my brethren that went up with me made the heart of the
people melt: but I wholly followed the LORD my God.
And Moses sware on that day, saying, Surely the land 9
whereon thy foot hath trodden shall be an inheritance to
thee and to thy children for ever, because thou hast
wholly followed the LORD my God. And now, behold, 10
the LORD hath kept me alive, as he spake, these forty
and five years, from the time that the LORD spake this

6. Caleb: of the tribe of Judah (Num. xiii. 6, xxxiv. 19), the faithful and courageous spy (Num. xiv. 6). In another tradition he is called the Kenizzite (Num. xxxii. 12: cf. Judges i. 13), from Kenaz, an Edomite tribe (Gen. xxxvi. 11).

Kadesh-barnea: Num. xiii. 26, xxxii. 8; for site, see on Deut. i. 2.

7. in mine heart: Hebrew 'with'; the heart, in Hebrew psychology, is the centre not of feeling only, but of all psychical phenomena, including (as here) intellectual states (Deut. viii. 5; 1 Kings x. 2, &c.).

8. For the conflicting testimonies of the spies, see Num. xiii. 30, 31.

9. whereon thy foot hath trodden: Hebron (Num. xiii. 22). The promise is confirmed by the oath of Yahweh in Deut. i. 36; cf. Num. xiv. 24.

10. these forty and five years: the exact time of desert-wandering, after the departure from Kadesh-barnea, is given elsewhere (Deut. ii. 14) as thirty-eight years. This would leave a period of seven years (cf. xi. 18) for the conquest of Canaan, as far as the present point of the narrative (or five years, if we

- word unto Moses, while Israel walked in the wilderness :
 and now, lo, I am this day fourscore and five years old.
 11 As yet I am as strong this day as I was in the day that
 Moses sent me : as my strength was then, even so is my
 strength now, for war, and to go out and to come in.
 12 Now therefore give me this mountain, whereof the LORD
 spake in that day ; for thou heardest in that day how
 the Anakim were there, and cities great and fenced :
 it may be that the LORD will be with me, and I shall
 13 drive them out, as the LORD spake. And Joshua
 blessed him ; and he gave Hebron unto Caleb the son
 14 of Jephunneh for an inheritance. Therefore Hebron
 became the inheritance of Caleb the son of Jephunneh
 the Kenizzite, unto this day ; because that he wholly
 15 followed the LORD, the God of Israel. Now the name
 of Hebron beforetime was ^a Kiriath-arba ; *which Arba*

^a That is, *The city of Arba.*

subtract the conventional forty years). No other chronological information is given in this book as to the Conquest (see Intro., III. 2).

11. to go out and to come in : Deut. xxviii. 6, xxxi. 2, &c.

12. this mountain : i. e. the 'hill-country' round Hebron, which is in the highest part of the mountains of Judah.

Anakim : xi. 21 (note).
fenced : x. 20 (note).

13. blessed him : the solemn blessing, or curse (vi. 26), especially at an important crisis, had great importance attached to it by the Hebrews, as by other ancient peoples : cf. Gen. ix. 25, xxvii. 35, &c. Such blessings are really spells, charged with an automatic power to affect the future.

15. Kiriath-arba : Judges i. 10. The name probably meant 'Tetrapolis,' the 'fourfold' city (cf. Moore, *Judges*, p. 23), explained by Jerome as being the fourfold burial-place of Adam, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The numeral form 'arba' was misunderstood at an early date, and transformed into a legendary hero of the Anakim, Arba, founder of the city, and (in xv. 13, xxi. 11) the father of Anak.

was the greatest man among the Anakim. And the land had rest from war.

[P] And the lot for the tribe of the children of Judah according to their families was unto the border of Edom, even to the wilderness of Zin southward, at the uttermost part of the south. And their south border was from the uttermost part of the Salt Sea, from the ^a bay that looked southward: and it went out southward of the ascent of Akrabbim, and passed along to Zin, and went up by the south of Kadesh-barnea, and passed along by Hezron, and went up to Addar, and turned about to Karka: and it passed along to Azmon, and went out at the brook of Egypt; and the goings out of the border were at the sea: this shall be your south border. And

^a Heb. tongue.

1, 1, 3

xv. 1-12. *The Inheritance of Judah*; defined by a line drawn from the south end of the Dead Sea to Kadesh, and thence to the Wady el-'Arish (verses 2-4); by the Dead Sea on the east (verse 5^a); on the north, by a line drawn from the Dead Sea mouth on the Jordan across to the Mediterranean, having on it, or near it the following places (amongst others), viz. Beth-Hoglah, Adumim, En-Shemesh, Jerusalem, Kiriath-jearim, Chesalon, Beth-Shemesh, Timnath, Ekron, Jabneel (verses 5^b-11); on the west by the Mediterranean (verse 12).

1 f. See especially G. A. Smith, *H. G. H. L.*, chap. xiii, 'The Borders and Bulwarks of Judaea,' where the character of the debatable north frontier is described. The same frontier delineated by towns and natural features in verses 5^b-11 is given for the most part, as the south border of Benjamin in xviii. 12-10d (though reversed, from west to east).

1. **Edom**: the district of Mount Seir (Deut. i. 2).

the wilderness of Zin: in which lay Kadesh (Deut. xxxii. 51)

2. **bay**: verse 5, xviii. 19; whereas we speak of a 'tongue' of land, the Hebrews spoke of a 'tongue' of sea (Isa. xi. 15); the parallel description in Num. xxxiv. 3 says simply 'from the end of the Salt Sea.'

3. **the ascent of Akrabbim**: Num. xxxiv. 4; 'Scorpion Pass' one of the passes opening from the Wady el-Fikreh, possibly that opposite the prominent Jebel Madurah.

4. **the brook of Egypt**: xiii. 3 (note); **your**: read 'their' (LXX)

the east border was the Salt Sea, even unto the end of Jordan. And the border of the north quarter was from
 11 the ^a bay of the sea at the end of Jordan: and the border went up to Beth-hoglah, and passed along by the north of Beth-arabah; and the border went up to
 12 the stone of Bohan the son of Reuben: and the border went up to Debir from the valley of Achor, and so northward, looking toward Gilgal, that is over against the ascent of Adummim, which is on the south side
 13 of the river: and the border passed along to the waters of En-shemesh, and the goings out thereof were at
 14 En-rogel: and the border went up by the valley of the son of Hinnom unto the ^b side of the Jebusite southward (the same is Jerusalem): and the border went up
 15 ^a Heb. *tongue*. ^b Heb. *shoulder*.

5. **bay**: here that of the north end of the Dead Sea.

6. The line can be traced by means of the names selected in the summary above, all of which will be found in any large map.

the stone of Bohan: xviii. 17; unknown both as regards name and site. 'Bohen' in Hebrew means 'thumb,' and the name may have been given to some rock or hill from a fancied resemblance—the 'Thumb Rock.'

7. **the valley of Achor**: vii. 24.

Gilgal: not, of course, the basal camp in the Jordan Valley.

ascent of Adummim: xviii. 17; probably Tala'at ed Dumm (Ascent of Blood) on the ordinary road from Jericho to Jerusalem.

Curious red streaks appear from time to time on the stone, and perhaps account for the sanguinary names which attach to the road' (*H.G.H.L.*, p. 265).

8. **the valley of the son of Hinnom**: Heb. *gê ben-Hinnom*, or (xviii. 16) *gê-Hinnom*, familiar in its later form, Gehenna, through associations engendered by the use of the valley for the worship of Molech (2 Kings xxiii. 10); one of three possible 'alleys south of Jerusalem, viz. the Wady er-Rababi, the Tyropeon, and the Kidron, but probably the first (*E.B.*, 2423; *D.B.*, A. 385 f.).

unto the side of the Jebusite southward: south of the 'shoulder' on which Jerusalem stands; Jerusalem itself being within the territory of Benjamin (xviii. 28).

to the top of the mountain that lieth before the valley of Hinnom westward, which is at the uttermost part of the vale of Rephaim northward: and the border was drawn from the top of the mountain unto the fountain of the waters of Nephtoah, and went out to the cities of mount Ephron; and the border was drawn to Baalah (the same is Kiriath-jearim): and the border turned about from Baalah westward unto mount Seir, and passed along unto the side of mount Jearim on the north (the same is Chesalon), and went down to Beth-shemesh, and passed along by Timnah: and the border went out unto the side of Ekron northward: and the border was drawn to Shikkeron, and passed along to mount Baalah, and went out at Jabneel; and the goings out of the border were at the sea. And the west border was to the great sea, and the border *thereof*. This is the border of the children of Judah round about according to their families.

And unto Caleb the son of Jephunneh he gave a portion among the children of Judah, according to the

9. was drawn: 'inclined.'

the fountain of the waters of Nephtoah: xviii. 15; in its original form, probably 'the fountain of Merneptah' (Calici, quoted by Meyer, *Die Israeliten*, p. 222).

11. Jabneel: Yebna, twelve miles south from Joppa, and four miles from the Mediterranean. Under the name Jamnia it became famous as the religious centre of the Jewish race in the period 70-135 A. D.

12. The verse should read, 'And the west border was the Great Sea as border': cf. xiii. 23.

xv. 13-20. *Caleb acquires his portion.* Verse 13 is redactional, introducing an account of the acquisition of the territory around Hebron by Caleb (cf. xiv. 6-15). This is one of the fragments of J, closely related to the first chapter of Judges, which contains a parallel and almost verbally identical narrative (Judges i. 10-15). Verse 20 is the concluding formula of P to the whole definition of the territory of Judah.

commandment of the LORD to Joshua, even ^a Kiriath-arba, *which Arba was* the father of Anak (the same ¹¹ it is Hebron). [J] And Caleb drove out thence the three sons of Anak, Sheshai, and Ahiman, and Talmi, the ⁵ children of Anak. And he went up thence against the inhabitants of Debir : now the name of Debir beforetime ⁶ was Kiriath-sepher. And Caleb said, He that smiteth Kiriath-sepher, and taketh it, to him will I give Achsah ⁷ my daughter to wife. And Othniel the son of Kenaz, the brother of Caleb, took it : and he gave him Achsah ⁸ his daughter to wife. And it came to pass, when she came *unto him*, that she moved him to ask of her father a field : and she lighted down from off her ass ; and ⁹ Caleb said unto her, What wouldest thou? And she

^a That is, *the city of Arba*.

13. Kiriath-arba : xiv. 15 (note).

14. Sheshai, and Ahiman, and Talmi : Num. xiii. 22 ; Judges i. 10 (according to the latter, it is Judah who smites them). The names suggest Aramaean origin for the clans in question ; Sheshai may be the Shasu (Syrian Bedouins) of the Egyptians ; the Talmi of 2 Sam. iii. 3, xiii. 37 is the Aramaean king of Geshur (cf. Gray, *Numbers*, p. 141 ; Moore, *Judges*, p. 24).

15. Debir : x. 38.

Kiriath-sepher : *lit.* (if the name be of Hebrew origin) 'city of writing,' but no inference can be drawn from such an etymology as to the literary life of Canaan. It is quite likely that some (unknown) Canaanite word, resembling Sepher in sound, has been reproduced in a form familiar to Hebrew ears ; cf. the English modification of 'écrevisse' into 'crayfish.'

16. For the idea cf. 1 Sam. xvii. 25 ; 1 Chron. xi. 6.

Achsah must be taken to represent a Kenizzite clan connected with the Othnielites of Debir, and the Calebites of Hebron.

17. Othniel : called (Judges i. 13) the younger brother of Caleb : cf. Judges iii. 9-11.

18, 19. The story is a graceful one, and may well rest on some personal incident, although its significance in the present context is in relation to clans. Achsah, when she comes to her future husband as the prize of battle, incites him to join her in

said, Give me a ^a blessing ; for that thou hast ^b set me in the land of the South, give me also springs of water. And he gave her the upper springs and the nether springs.

[P] This is the inheritance of the tribe of the children ²⁰ of Judah according to their families.

And the uttermost cities of the tribe of the children of ²¹ Judah toward the border of Edom in the South were Kabzeel, and Eder, and Jagur ; and Kinah, and Dimonah, ²² and Adadah ; and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Ithnan ; ²³ Ziph, and Telem, and Bealoth ; and Hazor-hadattah, ^{24, 25} and Kerieth-hezron (the same is Hazor) ; Amam, and ²⁶ Shema, and Moladah ; and Hazar-gaddah, and Heshmon, ²⁷ and Beth-pelet ; and Hazar-shual, and Beer-sheba, and ²⁸ Biziothiah ; Baalah, and Iim, and Ezem ; and Eltolad, ^{29, 30} and Chesil, and Hormah ; and Ziklag, and Madmannah, ³¹ and Sansannah ; and Lebaoth, and Shilhim, and Ain, ³² and Rimmon : all the cities are twenty and nine, with their villages.

^a Or, *present*

^b Or, *given me the land of the South*

a further request. She descends from her ass to show respect for her father, as did Abigail on meeting David (1 Sam. xxv. 23). The 'present' (R. V. marg. : cf. Gen. xxxiii. 11 ; 1 Sam. xxv. 27, xxx. 26 ; 2 Kings v. 15), for which she asks, consists of certain water-rights, of consequence because the 'South' is the dry or parched land. 'Property in water is older and more important than property in land' (*Rel. Sem.*, p. 104). The springs in question may be those of a particularly well-watered valley (Seil ed-Dilbeh) found between Hebron and Debir.

xv. 21-63. *Catalogue of cities belonging to Judah.* This catalogue falls into four topographical divisions, viz. the Negeb or 'South' (verses 21-32), the Shephelah or 'lowland' (verses 33-47), the 'hill-country' (verses 48-60), and the 'wilderness' (verses 61-62). An appended note states the inability of Judah to expel the Jebusites from Jerusalem (verse 63).

28. Biziothiah : we should, perhaps, read, with slight change, 'her daughters' (verse 45, Neh. xi. 28).

- 33, 34 In the lowland, Eshtaol, and Zorah, and Ashnah ; and
 35 Zanoah, and En-gannim, Tappuah, and Enam ; Jarmuth,
 36 and Adullam, Socoh, and Azekah ; and Shaaraim, and
 Adithaim, and Gederah, and Gederothaim ; fourteen
 cities with their villages.
- 37, 38 Zenan, and Hadashah, and Migdal-gad ; and Dilan,
 39 and Mizpeh, and Joktheel ; Lachish, and Bozkath, and
 40 Eglon ; and Cabbon, and ^a Lahmam, and Chithlish ;
 41 and Gederoth, Beth-dagon, and Naamah, and Makkedah ;
 sixteen cities with their villages.
- 42, 43 Libnah, and Ether, and Ashan ; and Iphtah, and
 44 Ashnah, and Nezib ; and Keilah, and Achzib, and
 Mareshah ; nine cities with their villages.
- 45, 46 Ekron, with her ^b towns and her villages : from Ekron
 even unto the sea, all that were by the side of Ashdod,
 with their villages.
- 47 Ashdod, her towns and her villages ; Gaza, her towns
 and her villages ; unto the brook of Egypt, and the great
 sea, and the border *thereof*.
- 48 And in the hill country, Shamir, and Jattir, and
 49 Socoh ; and Dannah, and Kiriath-sannah (the same is
 50, 51 Debir) ; and Anab, and Eshtemoh, and Anim ; and
 Goshen, and Holon, and Giloh ; eleven cities with their
 villages.
- 52, 53 Arab, and Dumah, and Eshan ; and Janim, and Beth-
 54 tappuah, and Aphekah ; and Humtah, and Kiriath-arba

^a Or, *Lahmas*.

^b Heb. *daughters*.

32. twenty and nine: thirty-six are actually given ; seven, therefore, have been added subsequently, possibly in verses 26-8 (cf. Neh. xi. 26, 27) ; LXX unites Ain and Rimmon as one city.

36. fourteen: fifteen are actually given : Adithaim is omitted by LXX.

47. and the border thereof: should be, as in xiii. 23, 'as the border.'

(the same is Hebron), and Zior ; nine cities with their villages.

Maon, Carmel, and Ziph, and Jutah ; and Jezreel, and 55, 56
Jokdeam, and Zanoah ; Kain, Gibeah, and Timnah ; 57
ten cities with their villages.

Halhul, Beth-zur, and Gedor ; and Maarath, and 58, 59
Beth-anoth, and Eltekon ; six cities with their villages.

Kiriath-baal (the same is Kiriath-jearim), and Rabbah ; 60
two cities with their villages.

In the wilderness, Beth-arabah, Middin, and Secacah ; 61
and Nibshan, and the City of Salt, and En-gedi ; six 62
cities with their villages.

[J] And as for the Jebusites, the inhabitants of 63
Jerusalem, the children of Judah could not drive them
out : but the Jebusites dwelt with the children of Judah
at Jerusalem, unto this day.

[JE] And the lot for the children of Joseph went out 16

59. After this verse add with LXX, 'Tekoa, Ephratha, that is Bethlehem, Peor, Etam, Kolon, Tatam, Sores, Kerem, Gallim, Bether, Manahath, eleven cities and their villages.'

63. Another fragment of J = Judges i. 21 (except that 'Judah' is replaced by 'Benjamin,' and 'could not' by 'did not,' the present being the more original form of the verse). According to verse 8 and xviii. 28, Jerusalem belongs to Benjamin, and the redactor of Judges i has corrected J accordingly. For the conquest of Jerusalem by David (of Judah), see 2 Sam. v. 6 f. (cf. 2 Sam. xxiv. 18).

xvi, xvii. *The Inheritance of Joseph*: definition of south border by a line drawn from Jericho through Bethel, the lower Beth-horon, and Gezer (xvi. 1-3). Inheritance of Ephraim, as one of the sons of Joseph (xvi. 4); definition of territory (xvi. 5-8); which includes some cities in Manasseh (xvi. 9), and excludes Gezer (xvi. 10). Inheritance of Manasseh (xvii. 1); divisions of the tribe, male (xvii. 2), and female (xvii. 3); claim of the latter to inherit (xvii. 4). Territory of Manasseh (xvii. 5-6), and its borders (xvii. 7-10). Canaanite cities not dispossessed (xvii.

from the Jordan at Jericho, at the waters of Jericho on the east, even the wilderness, going up from Jericho through the hill country to Beth-el; and it went out from Beth-el to Luz, and passed along unto the border of the Archites to Ataroth; and it went down westward

11-13). The claim of the Josephites for a larger share (xvii. 14-18).

There is a marked contrast between the precise details in regard to Judah, and the briefer and more generalized statements of these chapters in regard to the Josephite territory; it is probably due to the fact that when this book was compiled the Northern Kingdom had ceased to exist, and its territory was no longer in Jewish hands.

The territory of Joseph is the middle part of the country west of Jordan, bounded by Benjamin (xviii. 11 f.) and Dan (xix. 40 f.) on the south, and by Issachar (xix. 17 f.) and Asher (xix. 24 f.) on the north. Its central feature is 'the hill-country of Ephraim' (xvii. 15; on the extension of this name to the whole territory, see *H.G.H.L.*, p. 325), in which the central range of Judah is continued. On the west this descends to the Plain of Sharon, with many points of easy access; on the east it overhangs the Jordan Valley, being steep and inaccessible in the southern half, but with broad valleys opening up into the interior in the northern half (*op. cit.*, 326). For the boundary between Judah (Benjamin, and Israel, see *H.G.H.L.*, chap. xii ('Judea and Samaria—The History of their Frontier'), where the reasons for its shifting character are given.

1. the lot . . . went out: read, with LXX, 'the border . . . was.' (The Hebrew text, if retained, will refer to the lot falling from the receptacle in which it was shaken: cf. xviii. 11, &c.)

the waters of Jericho: probably 'Ain es-Sultân, a little north-west of the present Rihâ.

This verse is as clumsy in Hebrew as it is in English, and is possibly corrupt, but the general meaning is that the boundary runs from Jericho to Bethel (leaving room for Benjamin, xviii. 12 f., between it and the north border of Judah, xv. 5^b f.).

2. Beth-el to Luz: cf. Gen. xxviii. 19, where the sanctuary of Bethel and the city of Luz are brought into close connexion. Luz may be an addition here (cf. LXX), as the earlier name of the place called Bethel (House of God) on account of its sanctuary.

Archites: cf. 2 Sam. xv. 32 (Hushai the Archite); possibly the inhabitants of the place now represented by 'Ain 'Arik, west of Bethel.

to the border of the Japhletites, unto the border of Beth-horon the nether, even unto Gezer : and the goings out thereof were at the sea. [P] And the children of 4 Joseph, Manasseh and Ephraim, took their inheritance. And the border of the children of Ephraim according to 5 their families was *thus* : even the border of their inheritance eastward was Ataroth-addar, unto Beth-horon the upper ; and the border went out westward at 6 Michmethath on the north ; and the border turned about eastward unto Taanath-shiloh, and passed along it on the east of Janoah ; and it went down from Janoah 7 to Ataroth, and to Naarah, and reached unto Jericho, and went out at Jordan. From Tappuah the border 8 went along westward to the brook of Kanah ; and the goings out thereof were at the sea. This is the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Ephraim according to their families ; [JE?] together with the cities which 9 were separated for the children of Ephraim in the midst

3. Japhletites : quite unknown, and not elsewhere mentioned.

4. the children of Joseph : Gen. xviii. 20, where Ephraim is made to take the place of Manasseh the firstborn ; P, however, here recognizes the primogeniture of Manasseh, though the redactor has placed the description of Ephraimite territory first.

5. The Hebrew is confused ; the definition of the border seems to have been condensed, in view of verses 1-3. Thus, only the east half of the south border is repeated.

Ataroth-addar : (= Ataroth, verse 2) may be Atara, three and a half miles south of Bethel, on the road to Jerusalem.

Beth-horon : see on x. 10.

6-8. With **Michmethath** (east of Shechem, xvii. 7) begins the north border, with Taanath-Shiloh, the east, which falls along the edge of the Jordan Valley down to Jericho (verse 7) ; while the western part of the north border (verse 8) runs from Tappuah to the **brook of Kanah** (xvii. 9) ; i.e. probably the Wady Kānah, south-west of Shechem, a tributary of the 'Aujā, which falls into the Mediterranean above Joppa.

9. Cf. xvii. 8, where Tappuah is named as one of these extra-territorial Ephraimite cities.

of the inheritance of the children of Manasseh, all the
 10 cities with their villages. [J] And they drave not out
 the Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer : but the Canaanites
 dwelt in the midst of Ephraim, unto this day, and
 became servants to do taskwork.

17 [P] And *this* was the lot for the tribe of Manasseh ;
 for he was the firstborn of Joseph. [JE ?] As for
 Machir the firstborn of Manasseh, the father of Gilead,
 because he was a man of war, therefore he had Gilead
 2 and Bashan. And *the lot* was for the rest of the
 children of Manasseh according to their families ; for
 the children of Abiezer, and for the children of Helek,

10. This verse belongs to the chain of J passages (cf. xv. 63), and is repeated (to 'Ephraim') in Judges i. 29. **Gezer** (cf. verse 3) retained its Canaanite population until the time of Solomon, when it came into his possession as the dowry of his wife, Pharaoh's daughter (cf. 1 Kings ix. 16).

became servants to do taskwork: xvii. 13 ; Gen. xlix. 15 ; 1 Kings ix. 21 ; *lit.* 'were for a working labour-gang.'

xvii. 1-6. *The Tribal Divisions of Manasseh.*

this was the lot for: Heb. 'and the lot was (drawn) for' (as in verse 2).

for he was the firstborn of Joseph: a reason for the place of Manasseh before Ephraim in P's account of the division of the land ; the redactor has, however, reversed this order (cf. xvi. 5 f.) in our present text.

Machir: Num. xxvi. 29 ; where, however, he is represented as the *only* son of Manasseh (cf. Gen. l. 23), whilst the six clans named here (verse 2) as children of Manasseh are there the sons of Gilead (the son of Machir). That implies the view that the western half of Manasseh is of later origin than the eastern half. The direct opposite is more probable. 'In later times the seats of Machir were in Gilead ; but there is good ground for the opinion that the conquest of this region was made, not in the first invasion of the lands east of the Jordan by Israel, but subsequently, by a reflux movement from Western Palestine' (Moore on Judges v. 14, where Machir is named amongst western clans). On the various Biblical theories of Manassite clans (cf. 1 Chron. ii. 21 f., vii. 14 f.), see Driver in *D.B.*, iii. 230 f.

therefore he had Gilead and Bashan: these being specially open to attack from the east.

and for the children of Asriel, and for the children of Shechem, and for the children of Hephher, and for the children of Shemida: these were the male children of Manasseh the son of Joseph according to their families. [P] But Zelophehad, the son of Hephher, the son of 3 Gilead, the son of Machir, the son of Manasseh, had no sons, but daughters: and these are the names of his daughters, Mahlah, and Noah, Hoglah, Milcah, and Tirzah. And they came near before Eleazar the priest, 4 and before Joshua the son of Nun, and before the princes, saying, The LORD commanded Moses to give us an inheritance among our brethren: therefore according to the commandment of the LORD he gave them an inheritance among the brethren of their father. And 5 there fell ten ^a parts to Manasseh, beside the land of Gilead and Bashan, which is beyond Jordan; because 6 the daughters of Manasseh had an inheritance among his sons: and the land of Gilead belonged unto the rest of the sons of Manasseh. And the border of Manasseh 7

^a Heb. *lines*.

3. Zelophehad: Num. xxvi. 33, xxvii. 1 f. (cf. xxxvi. 10). Note that Hephher is here the son of Gilead, whilst in verse 2 he is son of Manasseh, therefore brother to Machir (verse 1), and uncle to Gilead.

4. an inheritance among our brethren: the appeal is based on the judgement of Yahweh recorded in Num. xxvii. 7. Hebrew law before the Exile recognized sons only as heirs (Deut. xxi. 15 f., xxv. 5-10).

5. ten parts: according to Num. xxvii. 7, they are to receive the inheritance of their father only, divided amongst the five. Here each receives a share equal to that of each of the clans in verse 2 (five without Hephher).

xvii. 7-10. *The Territory of Manasseh.* This is defined as extending from Asher in the north, and Issachar in the east (verse 10), to the Wady Kānah (xvi. 8) in the south, the rest of the south border being defined by a line drawn through En Tappuah (xvi. 8), and north by Michmethah (east of Shechem).

7. Asher: not the territory of Asher (verse 10); it is sup-

was from Asher to Michmethath, which is before Shechem; and the border went along to the right
 8 hand, unto the inhabitants of En-tappuah. [JE?] The land of Tappuah belonged to Manasseh: but Tappuah on the border of Manasseh belonged to the children of
 9 Ephraim. [P] And the border went down unto the brook of Kanah, southward of the brook: [JE?] these cities belonged to Ephraim among the cities of Manasseh: [P] and the border of Manasseh was on the north side of the brook, and the goings out thereof were at the sea:
 10 southward it was Ephraim's, and northward it was Manasseh's, and the sea was his border; and they reached to Asher on the north, and to Issachar on the
 11 east. [J] And Manasseh had in Issachar and in Asher Beth-shean and her ^a towns, and Ibleam and her towns,

^a Heb. *daughters*.

posed to be the village Tejāšīr, rather more than half-way on the road from Shechem to Scythopolis. The text is, however, doubtful.

before: to the right hand: Hebrew terms for east and south respectively (see on xiii. 3).

9. these cities belonged to Ephraim among the cities of Manasseh: a fragment which is meaningless in its present connexion: cf. xvi. 9. The rest of the verse describes the south border as intersecting the Wady Kānah on its south bank, and continuing along its north bank to the sea.

10. Manasseh is contiguous with Ephraim (xvi. 8) on the south, with Asher on the north, with Issachar on the east.

xvii. 11-13. *Manassite cities unconquered.* A fragment of J, practically identical with Judges i. 27, 28, except for the assertion that these cities were extra-territorial possessions of Manasseh. It is possible that the latter rests on the displacement of the words 'even the three heights. Yet the children of Manasseh could not drive out' from after 'Asher' (verse 11) to the end of the verse (so Dillmann, followed by Bennett; 'those cities' (verse 12) is then regarded as an addition made necessary by the displacement).

11. Beth-shean . . . Megiddo: these Canaanite settlements form 'a chain of fortified cities guarding all the passes' from the

and the inhabitants of Dor and her towns, and the inhabitants of En-dor and her towns, and the inhabitants of Taanach and her towns, and the inhabitants of Megiddo and her towns, even the three ^a heights. Yet ¹² the children of Manasseh could not drive out *the inhabitants* of those cities; but the Canaanites would dwell in that land. And it came to pass, when the ¹³ children of Israel were waxen strong, that they put the Canaanites to taskwork, and did not utterly drive them out.

And the children of Joseph spake unto Joshua, saying, ¹⁴ Why hast thou given me but one lot and one ^b part for an inheritance, seeing I am a great people, forasmuch as hitherto the LORD hath blessed me? And Joshua said ¹⁵ unto them, If thou be a great people, get thee up to the forest, and cut down for thyself there in the land of the Perizzites and of the Rephaim; since the hill country of

^a See. ch. xi. 2, xii. 23.

^b Heb. *line*.

mountains of Ephraim northwards. 'At the eastern end of this cordon was Beth-shean, on the main road to Damascus; at the western extremity, Megiddo, on the road up from the coast, commanding thus the great commercial and military road between Egypt and the East' (Moore, *Judges*, p. 43). See the map.

the three heights: R. V. marg. suggests that 'the heights of Dor' (xi. 2, note) are meant, but the meaning of the words is unknown.

12. would dwell: rather, 'persisted in dwelling.'

13. taskwork: see on xvi. 10.

xvii. 14-18. The Josephites demand a larger inheritance. Another J fragment, probably belonging to the time when Manasseh overflowed from its western to its eastern territory (see on verse 1: cf. Num. xxxii. 39-41).

15. forest could be some part of the territory described above; it should, however, be noted that 2 Sam. xviii. 6 speaks of a 'forest of Ephraim,' east of Jordan, and probably the 'forest' of Gilead (cf. Num. xxxii. 39) was in view in the original meaning of this passage.

Perizzites: Deut. vii. 1.

- 16 Ephraim is too narrow for thee. And the children of Joseph said, The hill country ^a is not enough for us : and all the Canaanites that dwell in the land of the valley have chariots of iron, both they who are in Bethshean and her towns, and they who are in the valley of Jezreel. And Joshua spake unto the house of Joseph, even to Ephraim and to Manasseh, saying, Thou art a great people, and hast great power : thou shalt not
- 17 have one lot only : but the hill country shall be thine ; for though it is a forest, thou shalt cut it down, and the goings out thereof shall be thine : for thou shalt drive out the Canaanites, though they have chariots of iron, and though they be strong.
- 18 [P] And the whole congregation of the children of Israel assembled themselves together at Shiloh, and set

^a Heb. *is not found for us.*

Rephaim : according to Deut. iii. 13, Bashan was known as 'the land of Rephaim.'

16. chariots of iron : see on xi. 4 ; specially strong chariots for warfare, plated with iron, are meant. The moral effect of these (to Israel) novel instruments of warfare may be compared with that of the elephants of Pyrrhus on the Romans (Budde on Judges i. 19).

18. the hill country : i. e. that of Gilead, on the view taken above.

xviii. 1-10. *Preparation for the division of the land* (verse 1). Seven tribes have yet to receive their inheritance (verse 2). A commission of three from each tribe is appointed to divide the remaining land into seven parts (verses 3-5^a), Judah, Joseph, Levi, Gad, Reuben, and half Manasseh having already been provided for (verses 5^b-7). After a systematic survey, the commission divides the land into seven portions, which Joshua assigns by the sacred lot at Shiloh (verses 8-10).

1. Apparently part of an introduction to the division of the whole land west of Jordan (see note on xiv. 1).

Shiloh : (Judges xxi. 19) i. e. of Seilun, about twelve miles south of Shechem. Here an annual feast was held (Judges xxi. 19 f.), and the ark was kept by Eli in a sanctuary (1 Sam. iii. 3, 15 : cf. Judges xviii. 31). Shiloh does not appear in history after 1 Sam.

up the tent of meeting there : and the land was subdued before them. [JE] And there remained among the children of Israel seven tribes, which had not yet divided their inheritance. And Joshua said unto the children of Israel, How long are ye slack to go in to possess the land, which the LORD, the God of your fathers, hath given you? Appoint for you three men for each tribe : and I will send them, and they shall arise, and walk through the land, and describe it according to their inheritance ; and they shall come unto me. And they shall divide it into seven portions : Judah shall abide in his border on the south, and the house of Joseph shall abide in their border on the north. And ye shall describe the land into seven portions, and bring *the description* hither to me : and I will cast lots for you here before the LORD our God. [R^D] For the Levites have no portion among you ; for the priesthood of the LORD is their inheritance : and Gad and Reuben and the half tribe of Manasseh have received their inheritance beyond Jordan eastward, which Moses the servant of the LORD gave them. [JE] And the men arose, and went : and Joshua charged them that went to describe the land, saying, Go and walk through the land, and describe it, and

i-iv, and is thought to have been destroyed by the Philistines (cf. Jer. vii. 12 ; Ps. lxxviii. 60).

3. slack : i. e. as contrasted with Judah and Joseph (verse 5), who have taken possession of their inheritance.

4. describe : i. e. in the literal sense 'write down' the cities (verse 9), in order that an equitable division may be made on the forthcoming data. We have no evidence as to the date at which the art of writing began to be practised by Israel.

6. cast lots : see on vii. 14.

7. The verse is an editorial note, explaining why seven portions only are wanted : cf. xiii. 14, xiv. 3 f.

the priesthood of Yahweh : Deut. x. 8, xviii. 1 f.

come again to me, and I will cast lots for you here before
 9 the LORD in Shiloh. And the men went and passed
 through the land, and described it by cities into seven
 portions in a book, and they came to Joshua unto the
 10 camp at Shiloh. And Joshua cast lots for them in Shiloh
 before the LORD: and there Joshua divided the land
 unto the children of Israel according to their divisions.
 11 [P] And the lot of the tribe of the children of Benjamin
 came up according to their families: and the border of
 their lot went out between the children of Judah and the
 12 children of Joseph. And their border on the north
 quarter was from Jordan; and the border went up to
 the ^a side of Jericho on the north, and went up through
 the hill country westward; and the goings out thereof
 13 were at the wilderness of Beth-aven. And the border
 passed along from thence to Luz, to the ^a side of Luz
 (the same is Beth-el), southward; and the border went
 down to Ataroth-addar, by the mountain that lieth on
 14 the south of Beth-horon the nether. And the border
 was drawn and turned about on the west quarter south-

^a Heb. *shoulder*.

10. according to their divisions: (xi. 23, xii. 7) i. e. those given in order in xviii. 11—xix. 51 (Benjamin, Simeon, Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, Naphtali, and Dan).

xviii. 11-28. *The Inheritance of Benjamin.*

11. came up: literally; or, as we should say, 'was drawn' (in Lev. xvi. 9 the same Hebrew word is rendered 'fell').

the border . . . went out: 'the territory . . . lay.'

12, 13. The north border (contiguous with the south border of Joseph, xvi. 1-4 q. v.) is described from east to west.

Beth-aven: somewhere east of Bethel, near Ai (vii. 2) and west of Michmash (1 Sam. xiii. 5, xiv. 23).

14. The west border, from Beth-horon in the north to Kiriath-jearim in the south (cf. ix. 17, where the latter is one of the cities in the league of Gibeon, and xv. 60, where it is included in the territory of Judah).

ward, from the mountain that lieth before Beth-horon southward; and the goings out thereof were at Kiriath-baal (the same is Kiriath-jearim), a city of the children of Judah: this was the west quarter. And the south ¹⁵ quarter was from the uttermost part of Kiriath-jearim, and the border went out westward, and went out to the fountain of the waters of Nephtoah: and the border ¹⁶ went down to the uttermost part of the mountain that lieth before the valley of the son of Hinnom, which is in the vale of Rephaim northward; and it went down to the valley of Hinnom, to the side of the Jebusite southward, and went down to En-rogel; and it was drawn on the ¹⁷ north, and went out at En-shemesh, and went out to Geliloth, which is over against the ascent of Adummim; and it went down to the stone of Bohan the son of Reuben; and it passed along to the side over against ¹⁸ the Arabah northward, and went down unto the Arabah: and the border passed along to the side of Beth-hoglah ¹⁹ northward: and the goings out of the border were at the north ^a bay of the Salt Sea, at the south end of Jordan: this was the south border. And Jordan was the border ²⁰ of it on the east quarter. This was the inheritance of the children of Benjamin, by the borders thereof round

^a Heb. *tongue*.

xviii. 15-19. The south border, described from west to east contiguous with the north border of Judah, xv. 5-9 q. v.), from Kiriath-jearim to the north end of the Dead Sea.

15. the border went out westward: what is apparently meant is that it started from this (most) westward point to go eastward.

20. The east border.

xviii. 21-28. Catalogue of the cities of Benjamin; twelve in the east (verses 21-4) and fourteen in the west (verses 25-8), the line of division between the two groups being that of the watershed, marked roughly by the road from Jerusalem to Shechem.

21 about, according to their families. Now the cities of the tribe of the children of Benjamin according to their families were Jericho, and Beth-hoglah, and Emek-keziz ;
 22, 23 and Beth-arabah, and Zemaraim, and Beth-el ; and
 24 Avvim, and Parah, and Ophrah ; and Chephar-ammoni, and Ophni, and Geba ; twelve cities with their villages :
 25, 26 Gibeon, and Ramah, and Beeroth ; and Mizpeh, and
 27 Chephirah, and Mozah ; and Rekem, and Irpeel, and
 28 Taralah ; and Zelah, Eleph, and the Jebusite (the same is Jerusalem), Gibeath, and Kiriath ; fourteen cities with their villages. This is the inheritance of the children of Benjamin according to their families.

19 And the second lot came out for Simeon, even for the tribe of the children of Simeon according to their families : and their inheritance was in the midst of the inheritance
 2 of the children of Judah. And they had for their inheritance
 3 Beer-sheba, or Sheba, and Moladah ; and Hazar-
 4 shual, and Balah, and Ezem ; and Eltolad, and Bethul,
 5 and Hormah ; and Ziklag, and Beth-marcaboth, and
 6 Hazar-susah ; and Beth-lebaoth, and Sharuhem ; thirteen
 7 cities with their villages : Ain, Rimmon, and Ether, and
 8 Ashan ; four cities with their villages : and all the villages

xix. 1-9. *The Inheritance of Simeon.*

1. The statement of the second half of the verse replaces any definition of borders.

2. Catalogue of the cities of Simeon, thirteen in the Negeb (verses 2-6) and four in the Negeb and Shephelah (verse 7). With some textual variations, all are included in the catalogue of the cities of Judah (xv. 26-32, 42).

or **Sheba** : Heb. 'and Sheba,' perhaps a dittograph from the preceding word (not wanted for the total of thirteen, and not in the parallel passage, 1 Chron. iv. 28), or possibly for 'and Shema' (xv. 26 ; so LXX).

7. **Ain, Rimmon** : xv. 32 ; should be En-Rimmon (Neh. xi. 29) as in LXX, which inserts Talcha (=Tochen? 1 Chron. iv. 32) after it, so making up the total of four cities.

that were round about these cities to Baalath-beer, Ramah of the South. This is the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Simeon according to their families. Out of the ^apart of the children of Judah ⁹ was the inheritance of the children of Simeon: for the portion of the children of Judah was too much for them: therefore the children of Simeon had inheritance in the midst of their inheritance.

And the third lot came up for the children of Zebulun ¹⁰ according to their families: and the border of their inheritance was unto Sarid: and their border went up ¹¹ westward, even to Maralah, and reached to Dabbesheth; and it reached to the brook that is before Jokneam; and ¹² it turned from Sarid eastward toward the sunrising unto the border of Chisloth-tabor; and it went out to Daberath, and went up to Japhia; and from thence it passed along ¹³ eastward to Gath-hepher, to Eth-kazin; and it went out

^a Heb. *line*.

8. Cf. 1 Chron. iv. 33, from which (cf. 1 Sam. xxx. 27) 8^a is perhaps inserted here (Steuernagel).

9. The actual history behind this statement seems to be that 'Simeon stands for one of the unsettled elements of the southern population fused more or less permanently into a state by David' (*E.B.*, 4531: cf. 1 Chron. iv. 31^b).

xix. 10-16. *The Inheritance of Zebulun* (south of Asher and of Naphtali, north of Issachar).

10. **Sarid**: perhaps (reading Sadid) Tel-Shaddûd, on the north edge of the Plain of Esdaelon, and south-west of Nazareth. From this point the south border is defined, first west (verse 11), then east (verse 12).

11. **Jokneam**: xii. 22; in Carmel, near the north-west end of the plain.

12. **Chisloth-tabor**: possibly Chesulloth (verse 18), two miles south-east of Nazareth; **Daberath** is Dabureyê, four miles east of Nazareth.

13. **Gath-hepher**: perhaps El-Meshed, three miles north-east of Nazareth.

- 14 at Rimmon which stretcheth unto Neah ; and the border
turned about it on the north to Hannathon : and the
15 goings out thereof were at the valley of Iphtah-el ; and
Kattath, and Nahalal, and Shimron, and Idalah, and
16 Beth-lehem : twelve cities with their villages. This is the
inheritance of the children of Zebulun according to their
families, these cities with their villages.
- 17 The fourth lot came out for Issachar, even for the
18 children of Issachar according to their families. And their
border was unto Jezreel, and Chesulloth, and Shunem ;
9, 20 and Hapharaim, and Shion, and Anaharath ; and Rabbith,
21 and Kishion, and Ebez ; and Remeth, and En-gannim,
22 and En-haddah, and Beth-pazzez ; and the border reached
to Tabor, and Shahazumah, and Beth-shemesh ; and the
goings out of their border were at Jordan : sixteen cities
23 with their villages. This is the inheritance of the tribe

Rimmon : Rummâneh, six miles north of Nazareth.

which stretcheth : read, with Dillmann, by a change of one letter, 'and inclined.'

14. The north border (the west border, contiguous with Asher, is not given : cf. verse 27).

15. Five cities are named abruptly as belonging to Zebulun, whilst the total is stated to be twelve. Similar discrepancies, pointing to textual omissions, occur in verses 30, 38.

xix. 17-23. *The Inheritance of Issachar* (having Manasseh to its south (xvii. 7) and west (xvii. 10), Zebulun and Naphtali to its north (verses 11, 34), and the Jordan to its east). Most of the Plain of Esdraelon is included.

18. **unto Jezreel :** this cannot be part of the definition of the border, since Jezreel lies in the centre of Issachar's territory ; a catalogue of cities belonging to Issachar begins here ; note that 'border' can also mean 'territory.'

22. This verse apparently gives the east part of the north border, contiguous with Naphtali, from Tabor (at or near the mountain of that name) to the Jordan. These three cities, however, are reckoned with the total of sixteen. The whole section is confused, perhaps through abbreviation.

of the children of Issachar according to their families, the cities with their villages.

And the fifth lot came out for the tribe of the children ²⁴ of Asher according to their families. And their border ²⁵ was Helkath, and Hali, and Beten, and Achshaph; and ²⁶ Allammelech, and Amad, and Mishal; and it reached to Carmel westward, and to Shihor-libnath; and it turned ²⁷ toward the sunrising to Beth-dagon, and reached to Zebulun, and to the valley of Iphtah-el northward to Beth-emek and Neiel; and it went out to Cabul on the left hand, and Ebron, and Rehob, and Hammon, and ²⁸ Kanah, even unto great Zidon; and the border turned to ²⁹ Ramah, and to ^a the fenced city of Tyre; and the border turned to Hosah; and the goings out thereof were at the sea ^b by the region of Achzib: Ummah also, and Aphek, ³⁰

^a Or, *the city of Mibzar Zor* that is, the fortress of Tyre.

^b Or, *from Hebel to Achzib.*

xix. 24-31. *The Inheritance of Asher* (along the Mediterranean coast, from the Carmel district northwards). The text shows disorder similar to that of the last section. The catalogue of the cities and the definition of the border lines have been confused. It is difficult to trace the boundaries intended on the south, east, and north. See map for general indication.

25. border: here 'territory' (cf. verse 11). Seven cities belonging to Asher are first named (verses 25, 26^a).

26. The southern limit is given by Carmel, where the point of contact with Manasseh is found (xvii. 10).

Shihor-libnath: probably the Nahr ez-Zerfā, flowing into the Mediterranean a little north of Caesarea.

27. The east border (contiguous with Zebulun) is defined to 'the valley of Iphtah-el' (verse 14), from which it continues north to Zidon (verse 29). Beth-emek and Neiel belong to the catalogue of cities.

28. Four cities belonging to the catalogue rather than to the border.

29. The north border, which apparently turns southwards before reaching the coast.

30. by the region of (Achzib): by transposition of a letter we

and Rehob: twenty and two cities with their villages.

31 This is the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Asher according to their families, these cities with their villages:

32 The sixth lot came out for the children of Naphtali, even for the children of Naphtali according to their
33 families. And their border was from Heleph, from the^a oak in Zaanannim, and Adami-nekeb, and Jabneel, unto Lakkum; and the goings out thereof were at
34 Jordan: and the border turned westward to Aznoth-tabor, and went out from thence to Hukkok; and it reached to Zebulun on the south, and reached to Asher on the west, and to Judah at Jordan toward the sunrising.
35 And the fenced cities were Ziddim, Zer, and Hammath,
36 Rakkath, and Chinnereth; and Adamah, and Ramah,
37, 38 and Hazor; and Kedesh, and Edrei, and En-hazor; and Iron, and Migdal-el, Horem, and Beth-anath, and Beth-
39 shemesh; nineteen cities with their villages. This is

^a Or, oak (or terebinth) of Bezaanannim

should probably read Mahalāb (the Assyrian Maḥalliba, named by Sennacherib), itself varied to Ahlab in Judges i. 31. This, with the next four names, will belong to the catalogue of cities, of which, however, only seventeen (eighteen) instead of the alleged total, twenty-two, appear to be named.

Ummah: read 'Akko' with LXX and Judges i. 31.

xix. 32-39. *The Inheritance of Naphtali.*

32 f. 'Little that is definite can be gathered from the description in verses 32-4 beyond the fact that Naphtali lay in the angle between Asher and Zebulun' (Bennett, *S.B.O.T.*).

33. the oak: a sacred tree (cf. xxiv. 26), here become a landmark. For the tree cult of the Semites, cf. *Rel. Sem.*², p. 185.

34. to Judah: meaningless (LXX omits); perhaps it comes from a marginal gloss 'like Judah,' indicating the similarity of the east borders of Naphtali and Judah respectively.

35. fenced cities: verse 29 (R. V. marg.), x. 20 (note).

38. nineteen: sixteen names are actually given.

the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Naphtali according to their families, the cities with their villages.

The seventh lot came out for the tribe of the children of Dan according to their families. And the border of their inheritance was Zorah, and Eshtaol, and Ir-shemesh; and Shaalabbin, and Aijalon, and Ithlah; and Elon, and Timnah, and Ekron; and Eltekeh, and Gibbethon, and Baalath; and Jehud, and Bene-berak, and Gath-rimmon; and Me-jarkon, and Rakkon, with the border over against ^a Joppa. [J] And the border of the children of Dan went out ^b beyond them: for the children of Dan went up and fought against ^c Leshem, and took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and possessed it, and dwelt therein, and called Leshem, Dan, after the name of Dan their father. [P] This is the inheritance of the tribe of

^a Heb. *Japho*.

^b Or, *from them*: and &c.

^c In Judg. xviii. 29, *Laish*.

xix. 40-48. *The Inheritance of Dan* (north-west of Judah). No definition of border is given, but simply a catalogue of seventeen or eighteen cities (verses 41-6). A verse is inserted from J, describing the Danite migration to Laish in the north (verse 47).

41. border: 'territory' (verses 18, 46).

Zorah, Eshtaol, and Ekron (verse 43) belong to Judah, according to xv. 33, 45.

Ir-shemesh = Beth-shemesh, xv. 10.

46. over against Joppa: it is not said that Joppa itself belonged to Dan; as a matter of history, it was never in the hands of Israel till taken under Simon the Maccabee (1 Macc. xiii. 11).

47. The verse is placed by LXX after verse 48, with a preface, drawn from Judges i. 34, 35, explaining that this migration was due to Amorite pressure. In Judges xiii f., the Danites are settled near Zorah and Eshtaol, but the greater part of the tribe migrated to the extreme north, as is described in Judges xviii.

went out beyond them: we should read, probably (cf. LXX), 'was too narrow for them' (cf. xvii. 15).

Leshem: Laish or Dan, near the sources of the Jordan, the most northern settlement of Israel, as is suggested by the well-known phrase 'from Dan even to Beersheba' (1 Sam. iii. 20, &c.).

the children of Dan according to their families, these cities with their villages.

49 So they made an end of distributing the land for inheritance by the borders thereof; [E] and the children of Israel gave an inheritance to Joshua the son of Nun
50 in the midst of them: according to the commandment of the LORD they gave him the city which he asked, even Timnath-serah in the hill country of Ephraim: and he built the city, and dwelt therein.

51 [P] These are the inheritances, which Eleazar the priest, and Joshua the son of Nun, and the heads of the fathers' *houses* of the tribes of the children of Israel, distributed for inheritance by lot in Shiloh before the LORD, at the door of the tent of meeting. So they made an end of dividing the land.

20 And the LORD spake unto Joshua, saying, Speak to the children of Israel, saying, Assign you the cities of

xix. 49-50. *The Inheritance of Joshua* (xxiv. 30; cf. Caleb, xv. 13).

50. **Timnath-serah**, xxiv. 30 = Timnath-heres, Judges ii. 9; i. e. Tibneh, twelve miles north-east of Lydda, ten miles north-west of Bethel.

51. Formal conclusion by P to the account of the division of the land, answering to the introduction, xviii. 1, xiv. 1 f.

xx. *The Cities of Refuge*. Yahweh instructs Joshua to proceed with the appointment of cities of refuge for those who have committed (unintentional) homicide (verses 1-6). The following are accordingly set apart: Kedesh-Naphtali, Shechem, and Hebron on the west (verse 7), and Bezer, Ramoth-Gilead, and Golan, on the east of Jordan (verse 8); for the aforesaid purpose (verse 9).

The chapter is closely connected with Num. xxxv. 9 f. (P) as the execution of the command there given. But certain parts of it ('unawares' in verse 3; verses 4, 5; verse 6, except 'until he stand before the congregation for judgement') show equally close contact with Deut. xix, and with Deuteronomy in general. *Since these particular verses are not found in the LXX*, it seems clear that they have been added by a writer wishing to combine D's version of the command with that of P. In the text above they are placed in square brackets.

refuge, whereof I spake unto you by the hand of Moses :
 that the manslayer that killeth any person ^a unwittingly 3
 [and unawares] may flee thither : and they shall be unto
 you for a refuge from the avenger of blood, [And he 4
 shall flee unto one of those cities, and shall stand at the
 entering of the gate of the city, and declare his cause in
 the ears of the elders of that city ; and they shall ^b take
 him into the city unto them, and give him a place, that
 he may dwell among them. And if the avenger of blood 5
 pursue after him, then they shall not deliver up the man-
 slayer into his hand ; because he smote his neighbour
 unawares, and hated him not beforetime. And he shall 6
 dwell in that city], until he stand before the congregation
 for judgement, [until the death of the high priest that
 shall be in those days : then shall the manslayer return,
 and come unto his own city, and unto his own house,
 unto the city from whence he fled.] And they ^c set 7
 apart Kedesh in ^d Galilee in the hill country of Naphtali,
 and Shechem in the hill country of Ephraim, and Kiriath-
 arba (the same is Hebron) in the hill country of Judah.

^a Or, *through error*

^b Heb. *gather*.

^c Heb. *sanctified*.

^d Heb. *Galil*.

2. **whereof I spake** : Num. xxxv. 9 f.

3. **unwittingly** : or 'accidentally,' the phrase of P (Num. xxxv. 11, 15).

unawares : the phrase of D (Deut. xix. 4, cf. iv. 42).

the avenger of blood : see on Deut. xix. 6.

4, 5. See the notes on Deut. xix for these verses and for the whole subject.

6. **until he stand**, &c. : this belongs to verse 3 (LXX, and Num. xxxv. 12) ; nor is it a real parallel with 'until the death,' &c.

that shall be in those days : Deut. xvii. 9, xix. 17, xxvi. 3.

7. **set apart** : historically, no doubt, the reference is to the *maintenance* of ancient sanctuary rights at these particular places.

Kedesh : xii. 22, xix. 37 ; **Shechem**, xxiv. 25 f. ; **Kiriath-arba**, xiv. 15 (notes).

- 8 And beyond the Jordan at Jericho eastward, they assigned Bezer in the wilderness in the ^aplain out of the tribe of Reuben, and Ramoth in Gilead out of the tribe of Gad, and Golan in Bashan out of the tribe of Manasseh. These were the appointed cities for all the children of Israel, and for the stranger that sojourneth among them, that whosoever killeth any person ^bunwittingly might flee thither, and not die by the hand of the avenger of blood, until he stood before the congregation.
- 21 Then came near the heads of fathers' *houses* of the Levites unto Eleazar the priest, and unto Joshua the son of Nun, and unto the heads of fathers' *houses* of the tribes of the children of Israel; and they spake unto them at Shiloh in the land of Canaan, saying, The LORD commanded by the hand of Moses to give us cities to dwell in, with the ^csuburbs thereof for our cattle. And the children of Israel gave unto the Levites out of their inheritance, according to the commandment of the LORD, these cities with their suburbs.
- 4 And the lot came out for the families of the Kohathites:

^a Or, *table land*

^b Or, *through error*

^c Or, *pasture lands*

8 f. According to Deut. iv. 41, 43 (where see the notes), these three cities have already been assigned by Moses.

at Jericho eastward: omit with LXX.

9. the stranger: Num. xxxv. 15; Deut. i. 16 (note).

xxi. *The Levitical Cities* (cf. Num. xxxv. 1-8, P).

The representatives of the Levites ask for the appointment of their promised cities (verses 1, 2), which is thereupon made (verse 3). Catalogue of these cities by number (verses 4-7), and by name (verses 8-40). Summary (verses 41, 42), and conclusion to whole account of the division of the land (verses 43-45).

1. the heads of fathers' (houses): Exod. vi. 25: cf. Joshua xxii. 14.

2. commanded: Num. xxxv. 2 f.

suburbs: substitute R. V. marg. throughout (see on xiv. 4).

4. According to Exod. vi. 16; Num. iii. 17, xxvi. 57, the

ites : and the children of Aaron the priest, which were of the Levites, had by lot out of the tribe of Judah, and out of the tribe of the Simeonites, and out of the tribe of Benjamin, thirteen cities.

And the rest of the children of Kohath had by lot out of the families of the tribe of Ephraim, and out of the tribe of Dan, and out of the half tribe of Manasseh, ten cities.

And the children of Gershon had by lot out of the families of the tribe of Issachar, and out of the tribe of Asher, and out of the tribe of Naphtali, and out of the half tribe of Manasseh in Bashan, thirteen cities.

The children of Merari according to their families had out of the tribe of Reuben, and out of the tribe of Gad, and out of the tribe of Zebulun, twelve cities.

And the children of Israel gave by lot unto the Levites these cities with their suburbs, as the LORD commanded by the hand of Moses. And they gave out of the tribe of the children of Judah, and out of the tribe of the children of Simeon, these cities which are *here* mentioned by name : and they were for the children of Aaron, of the families of the Kohathites, who were of the children

three sons (i. e. clans) of Levi were Gershon, Kohath, and Merari ; Kohath is here put first because the Aaronitic priests belong to this division (verse 10). Amram, the eldest son of Kohath is the father of Aaron and Moses ; the children of Aaron are Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar.

5. the rest of the children of Kohath are Izhar, Hebron, and Uzziel (Exod. vi. 18).

out of the families : omitted by LXX and Pesh. ; read as in verse 7, ' according to their families,' after ' Kohath.'

6. the children of Gershon : Libni and Shimei (Exod. vi. 17).

7. the children of Merari : Mahli and Musbi (Exod. vi. 19).

xxi. 9-19. Nine cities of Judah and Simeon (verses 13-16), and four of Benjamin (verse 17) are assigned to the Aaronites.

10. The Hebrew breaks off abruptly ; see next note.

- 11 of Levi: for theirs was the first lot. And they gave them Kiriath-arba, *which Arba was* the father of ^a Anak, (the same is Hebron,) in the hill country of Judah, with the suburbs thereof round about it. But the fields of the city, and the villages thereof, gave they to Caleb the son of Jephunneh for his possession.
- 12 And unto the children of Aaron the priest they gave Hebron with her suburbs, the city of refuge for the man slayer, and Libnah with her suburbs; and Jattir with her suburbs, and Eshtemoa with her suburbs; and Holon with her suburbs, and Debir with her suburbs; and Ain with her suburbs, and Juttah with her suburbs, *and* Beth-shemesh with her suburbs; nine cities out of those two tribes.
- 13 And out of the tribe of Benjamin, Gibeon with her suburbs, Geba with her suburbs; Anathoth with her suburbs, and Almon with her suburbs; four cities. All the cities of the children of Aaron, the priests, were thirteen cities with their suburbs.
- 14 And the families of the children of Kohath, the

^a Heb. *Anok*.

11, 12. Verse 11 forms a doublet with verse 13, and seems to have been added (with verse 12) to reconcile the possession of Hebron by both Caleb (xiv. 13, xv. 13) and Levi. The reconciliation is effected by distinguishing between the wider territory ('fields,' 'villages') as given to Caleb, and the immediately neighbouring pasture-grounds ('suburbs': cf. Num. xxxv. 2) as given to Levi.

Kiriath-arba: xv. 13. The six cities of refuge of chap. xx are all included amongst the Levitical cities of chap. xxi, according to Num. xxxv. 6.

16. Ain: read, with LXX, 'Asa' = Ashan (1 Chron. vi. 59, in a parallel list), the one Simeonite city assigned to Levi.

18. Anathoth, Almon: not named amongst the Benjaminite cities of xviii. 21-8.

19. the children of Aaron, the priests: see on Deut. xviii. 15, xxi. 20-26. Four cities of Ephraim (verses 21, 22), four of Dan

Levites, even the rest of the children of Kohath, they had the cities of their lot out of the tribe of Ephraim. And they gave them Shechem with her suburbs in the 21 hill country of Ephraim, the city of refuge for the manslayer, and Gezer with her suburbs; and Kibzaim with 22 her suburbs, and Beth-horon with her suburbs; four cities. And out of the tribe of Dan, Elteke with her 23 suburbs, Gibbethon with her suburbs; Aijalon with 24 her suburbs, Gath-rimmon with her suburbs; four cities. And out of the half tribe of Manasseh, Taanach with her 25 suburbs, and Gath-rimmon with her suburbs; two cities. All the cities of the families of the rest of the children of 26 Kohath were ten with their suburbs.

And unto the children of Gershon, of the families of 27 the Levites, out of the half tribe of Manasseh *they gave* Golan in Bashan with her suburbs, the city of refuge for the manslayer; and Be-eshterah with her suburbs; two cities. And out of the tribe of Issachar, Kishion with 28 her suburbs, Daberath with her suburbs; Jarmuth with 29 her suburbs, En-gannim with her suburbs; four cities. And out of the tribe of Asher, Mishal with her suburbs, 30 Abdon with her suburbs; Helkath with her suburbs, 31 and Rehob with her suburbs; four cities. And out of 32 the tribe of Naphtali, Kedesh in Galilee with her suburbs, the city of refuge for the manslayer, and Hammoth-dor with her suburbs, and Kartan with her suburbs; three

(verses 23, 24), two of Western Manasseh (verse 25), are assigned to the non-Aaronitic Kohathites.

25. Gath-rimmon: probably a mistaken repetition from the previous verse; read 'Ibleam' (cf. LXX, and 1 Chron. vi. 70).

xxi. 27-33. Two cities of East Manasseh (verse 27), four of Issachar (verses 28, 29), four of Asher (verses 30, 31), three of Naphtali (verse 32) are assigned to the Gershonites.

27. Be-eshterah - Beth-Eshterah, or Ashtaroth (xiii. 31).

33 cities. All the cities of the Gershonites according to their families were thirteen cities with their suburbs.

34 And unto the families of the children of Merari, the rest of the Levites, out of the tribe of Zebulun, Jokneam
35 with her suburbs, and Kartah with her suburbs, Dimnah with her suburbs, Nahalal with her suburbs ; four cities.

36 ^a And out of the tribe of Reuben, Bezer with her suburbs,
37 and Jahaz with her suburbs, Kedemoth with her suburbs,
38 and Mephaath with her suburbs ; four cities. And out of the tribe of Gad, Ramoth in Gilead with her suburbs, the city of refuge for the manslayer, and Mahanaim with
39 her suburbs ; Heshbon with her suburbs, Jazer with her
40 suburbs ; four cities in all. All *these were* the cities of the children of Merari according to their families, even the rest of the families of the Levites ; and their lot was twelve cities.

41 All the cities of the Levites in the midst of the possession of the children of Israel were forty and eight cities
42 with their suburbs. These cities were every one with their suburbs round about them : thus it was with all these cities.

43 [R^D] So the LORD gave unto Israel all the land which he swore to give unto their fathers ; and they possessed it,

^a Verses 36, 37 are not in the Massoretic text, but are found in very many MSS. and in the ancient versions. See also 1 Chr. vi. 78, 79.

xxi. 34-40. Four cities of Zebulun (verses 34, 35), four of Reuben (verses 36, 37), four of Gad (verses 38, 39) are assigned to the Merarites.

35. **Dimnah** : not in LXX, nor in xix. 10-16 ; Rimmonah ? (cf. xix. 13 ; 1 Chron. vi. 77).

xxi. 41, 42. *Concluding Summary.*

forty and eight : so Num. xxxv. 7.

xxi. 43-45. General Deuteronomistic conclusion, emphasizing

and dwelt therein. And the LORD gave them rest round 44
about, according to all that he swore unto their fathers :
and there stood not a man of all their enemies before
them ; the LORD delivered all their enemies into their
hand. There failed not aught of any good thing which 45
the LORD had spoken unto the house of Israel ; all
came to pass.

Then Joshua called the Reubenites, and the Gadites, 22
and the half tribe of Manasseh, and said unto them, Ye 2
have kept all that Moses the servant of the LORD com-
manded you, and have hearkened unto my voice in all
that I commanded you : ye have not left your brethren 3
these many days unto this day, but have kept the charge
of the commandment of the LORD your God. And now 4
the LORD your God hath given rest unto your brethren,
as he spake unto them : therefore now turn ye, and get
you unto your tents, unto the land of your possession,
which Moses the servant of the LORD gave you beyond
Jordan. Only take diligent heed to do the command- 5

the fidelity of Yahweh to his promises, as shown by Israel's
secure possession of Canaan.

45. **failed:** Heb. 'fell,' i. e. to the ground as unfulfilled
(2 Kings x. 10).

xxii. 1-8. *Dismissal of the east of Jordan tribes.* Joshua praises
their conduct (verses 1-3), and dismisses them to their own
territory (verse 4), bidding them continue their obedience to
Yahweh (verses 5, 6). Two notes are added, on the territory of
Manasseh and the division of spoil respectively (verses 7, 8).

3. **many days:** in xi. 18 the same phrase is rendered 'a long
time.'

charge: Deut. xi. 1.

4. **hath given rest:** as stated in xxi. 44.

tents: Deut. v. 30, xvi. 7 ; Israelite homes bore this name
long after the nomad dwelling had passed away with the nomad
life (cf. 2 Kings xiv. 12). The well-known phrase, 'To your tents,
O Israel !' is a formula of dispersion, not, as is often supposed, a
call to military action (cf., e. g., 1 Kings xii. 16).

5. A characteristic epitome of Deuteronomic religion.

ment and the law, which Moses the servant of the LORD commanded you, to love the LORD your God, and to walk in all his ways, and to keep his commandments, and to cleave unto him, and to serve him with all your heart
6 and with all your soul. So Joshua blessed them, and sent them away : and they went unto their tents.

7 Now to the one half tribe of Manasseh Moses had given *inheritance* in Bashan : but unto the other half gave Joshua among their brethren beyond Jordan westward. Moreover when Joshua sent them away unto
8 their tents, he blessed them, and spake unto them, saying, Return with much wealth unto your tents, and with very much cattle, with silver, and with gold, and with brass, and with iron, and with very much raiment: divide the spoil of your enemies with your brethren.

9 [P ?] And the children of Reuben and the children of

6. blessed them : xiv. 13 (note).

7. The following section (verse 9 f.) seems to have spoken originally of Reuben and Gad only (cf. verses 25, 32, 34). References to 'the half tribe of Manasseh' have been added in verses 9-11, 13, 15, 21 (30, 31), probably by the same annotator to whom the present verse is due. For the probability that the territory east of Jordan was not occupied by Manasseh till a later date than that of the western invasion, see the notes on xvii. 1, 14-18.

8. Return with much wealth : as an address, the sentence is peculiar, both in grammar and subject-matter ; LXX omits 'spake unto them saying,' and renders the whole verse as narrative ('they returned,' &c.), which is more likely to have been the original form of the words.

your brethren : i. e. those left east of Jordan (iv. 12) : cf. the equitable principle of David for the division of booty (1 Sam. xxx. 24).

xxii. 9-34. *The Altar of the Eastern Tribes.* The eastern tribes return, and erect an altar by the Jordan (verses 9, 10). The report of this leads to preparations for war by the western tribes (verses 11, 12). A deputation is sent, headed by Phinehas, to protest against the building of this altar, and to point out the peril to all in the sin of some (verses 13-20). The eastern tribes reply that their act has no element of rebellion in it, since the altar is not for sacrifice, but is a memorial of the abiding share of the eastern

Gad and the half tribe of Manasseh returned, and departed from the children of Israel out of Shiloh, which is in the land of Canaan, to go unto the land of Gilead, to the land of their possession, whereof they were possessed, according to the commandment of the LORD by the hand of Moses. And when they came unto the region about 10 Jordan, that is in the land of Canaan, the children of Reuben and the children of Gad and the half tribe of Manasseh built there an altar by Jordan, a great altar to see to. And the children of Israel heard say, Behold, the 11 children of Reuben and the children of Gad and the half tribe of Manasseh have built an altar in the forefront of the land of Canaan, in the region about Jordan, on the side that pertaineth to the children of Israel. And when 12

tribes in the worship of Yahweh, and a witness to future generations (verses 21-9). This explanation is accepted by the deputation, and, on their return, by the western tribes (verses 30-4).

The central emphasis on the single sanctuary (of Jerusalem), (see p. 36), would suggest a Deuteronomistic writer, but the language and much of the subject-matter connect with P. The whole idea is, of course, untrue to the earlier freedom of Israel's religion, which permitted many altars (Exod. xx. 24).

9. Shiloh: xviii. 1.

Gilead: in its wider sense of the Israelite territory, north and south of the Jabbok (Num. xxxii. 29, &c.); in Joshua xii. 2, 5 of the southern half, in xiii. 31 of the northern half.

by the hand of Moses: Num. xxxii.

10. the region about (Jordan): Heb. 'Geliloth' (circles), perhaps a place-name (xviii. 17, a place between Benjamin and Judah). LXX 'B,' and Pesh. have 'Gilgal,' which Dillmann thinks probable. The altar is, in this verse, set up west of Jordan as 'in the land of Canaan' implies (cf. verse 32).

a great altar to see to: i.e. one that was conspicuous; stated in view of the subsequent claim (verse 27) that it is monumental, not sacrificial.

11. in the forefront of: 'in front of' (viii. 33, ix. 1), i.e. opposite to.

in the region about (Jordan): see on verse 10; Pesh. has 'Gilgal' here, as there; but LXX 'B,' has 'Gilead' here.

on the side that pertaineth to: rather, 'toward the region opposite' (Heb. *Lex. B.D.B.*: cf. Deut. xxx. 13, 'beyond the sea'),

the children of Israel heard of it, the whole congregation of the children of Israel gathered themselves together at Shiloh, to go up against them to war.

- 13 And the children of Israel sent unto the children of Reuben, and to the children of Gad, and to the half tribe of Manasseh, into the land of Gilead, Phinehas the son
 14 of Eleazar the priest; and with him ten princes, one prince of a fathers' house for each of the tribes of Israel; and they were every one of them head of their fathers'
 15 houses among the ^a thousands of Israel. And they came unto the children of Reuben, and to the children of Gad, and to the half tribe of Manasseh, unto the land of Gilead,
 16 and they spake with them, saying, Thus saith the whole congregation of the LORD, What trespass is this that ye have committed against the God of Israel, to turn away this day from following the LORD, in that ye have builded
 17 you an altar, to rebel this day against the LORD? Is the iniquity of Peor too little for us, from which we have not cleansed ourselves unto this day, although there came a
 18 plague upon the congregation of the LORD, that ye must

^a Or, *families*

i. e. on the eastern side of Jordan. If the text be right (cf. Steuernagel) verse 11 comes from a source different from that of verse 10.

13. Phinehas: Exod. vi. 25; Num. xxv. 7, xxxi. 6; Joshua xxiv. 33.

14. ten (princes): i. e. representing Ephraim and Western Manasseh separately, but not Levi (represented by Phinehas).

a fathers' house: Num. i. 4, 16, &c.; the group deriving its origin from one common ancestor (see note on Joshua vii. 14), usually a subdivision smaller than the 'clan' (*mishpachah*), here for the tribe itself, as in Num. xvii. 2 (Steuernagel). The 'thousand' is another tribal division of varying extent.

16. trespass: rather, 'treachery,' infidelity (vii. 1), i. e. the breach of the law in Deut. xii. 4 f.

17. the iniquity of Peor: Num. xxv. 1-9: cf. Deut. iv. 3; for the plague, see Num. xxv. 3, 8, 9.

turn away this day from following the LORD? and it will be, seeing ye rebel to-day against the LORD, that to-morrow he will be wroth with the whole congregation of Israel. Howbeit, if the land of your possession be ¹⁹unclean, then pass ye over unto the land of the possession of the LORD, wherein the LORD's tabernacle dwelleth, and take possession among us: but rebel not against the LORD, nor rebel against us, in building you an altar besides the altar of the LORD our God. Did not Achan ²⁰the son of Zerah commit a trespass in the devoted thing, and wrath fell upon all the congregation of Israel? and that man perished not alone in his iniquity.

Then the children of Reuben and the children of Gad ²¹and the half tribe of Manasseh answered, and spake unto the heads of the ^a thousands of Israel, ^b The LORD, the ²²God of gods, the LORD, the God of gods, he knoweth, and Israel he shall know; if it be in rebellion, or if in

^a Or, *families*

^b Or, *God, even God, the LORD* Heb. *El Elohim Jehovah*.

18. wroth with the whole congregation: (cf. Num. xxv. 3, 4, 11) see note on vii. 24.

19. unclean: because a heathen land: cf. Amos vii. 17 (Hos. ix. 3, 4; Ezek. iv. 13).

tabernacle: enclosed within the 'tent of meeting' (xviii. 1: cf. Num. iii. 25), which is described as of curtains of goats' hair over the tabernacle (Exod. xxvi. 7). But the earlier sources know nothing of this (note on iii. 3).

rebel against us: probably we ought to modify the vowels of the Hebrew verb into 'make us rebels,' i. e. through our corporate life (verse 20), by which the rebellion of some is visited on all.

20. Achan: vii. 1 f.; Israel suffered defeat and thirty-six men perished through the treachery of one man.

22. Yahweh, the God of gods: rather, 'The Mighty One, God, Yahweh' (Ps. l. 1); the titles are brought together, and the phrase duplicated, to increase the solemnity of the utterance, which is best taken as consisting of three parallel and independent titles. The first of these (El, R.V. marg.) is the most general, the third the most special, the second the ordinary name for Deity among the Hebrews (see Cheyne on Ps. l. 1).

trespass against the LORD, (save thou us not this day,) 23 that we have built us an altar to turn away from following the LORD; or if to offer thereon burnt offering or meal offering, or if to offer sacrifices of peace offerings thereon, 24 let the LORD himself require it; and if we have not *rather* out of carefulness done this, *and* of purpose, saying, In time to come your children might speak unto our children, saying, What have ye to do with the LORD, 25 the God of Israel? for the LORD hath made Jordan a border between us and you, ye children of Reuben and children of Gad; ye have no portion in the LORD: so shall your children make our children cease from fearing 26 the LORD. Therefore we said, Let us now prepare to build us an altar, not for burnt offering, nor for sacrifice: 27 but it shall be a witness between us and you, and between our generations after us, that we may do the service of the LORD before him with our burnt offerings, and with our sacrifices, and with our peace offerings; that your children may not say to our children in time to come, 28 Ye have no portion in the LORD. Therefore said we, It shall be, when they so say to us or to our generations in time to come, that we shall say, Behold the pattern of the altar of the LORD, which our fathers made, not for

23. burnt offering (Deut. xii. 6); **meal offering**: or cereal oblation of flour, baked or fried cakes, or ears of wheat, with oil; **peace offering**: Deut. xxvii. 7; for details of these three offerings see Lev. i, ii, iii, respectively.

24. out of carefulness, ...and of purpose: better, 'from anxiety on account of a (particular) thing,' i. e. exclusion from the worship of Yahweh.

26. prepare: the Hebrew is 'make,' requiring some direct object, which is missing.

28. pattern: Deut. iv. 16, 'likeness'; the distinctive character of the Yahweh altar will prove an earlier relationship to Him, with participation in His worship.

burnt offering, nor for sacrifice; but it is a witness between us and you. God forbid that we should rebel ²⁹ against the LORD, and turn away this day from following the LORD, to build an altar for burnt offering, for meal offering, or for sacrifice, besides the altar of the LORD our God that is before his tabernacle.

And when Phinehas the priest, and the princes of the ³⁰ congregation, even the heads of the thousands of Israel which were with him, heard the words that the children of Reuben and the children of Gad and the children of Manasseh spake, it pleased them well. And Phinehas ³¹ the son of Eleazar the priest said unto the children of Reuben, and to the children of Gad, and to the children of Manasseh, This day we know that the LORD is in the midst of us, because ye have not committed this trespass against the LORD: now have ye delivered the children of Israel out of the hand of the LORD. And Phinehas the ³² son of Eleazar the priest, and the princes, returned from the children of Reuben, and from the children of Gad, out of the land of Gilead, unto the land of Canaan, to the children of Israel, and brought them word again. And the thing pleased the children of Israel; and the ³³ children of Israel blessed God, and spake no more of going up against them to war, to destroy the land wherein the children of Reuben and the children of Gad dwelt. And the children of Reuben and the ³⁴

29. God forbid: Heb. 'far be it for us.'

31. The absence of sin shows the presence of Yahweh; the explanation has delivered Israel from the peril of His wrath.

34. The name of the altar is wanting in the Hebrew. The R. V. has followed the Peshitto and some Hebrew MSS. in supplying the name 'Witness'; Dillmann and others prefer to supply Gal'ed (Heap of Witness) by comparison of the narrative in Gen. xxxi. 47 f., which offers this phrase as the etymology of Gilead.

children of Gad called the altar ^a*Ed*: For, *said they*, it is a witness between us that the LORD is God.

- 23** [R^D] And it came to pass after many days, when the LORD had given rest unto Israel from all their enemies round about, and Joshua was old and well stricken in **2** years; that Joshua called for all Israel, for their elders and for their heads, and for their judges and for their officers, and said unto them, I am old and well stricken **3** in years: and ye have seen all that the LORD your God hath done unto all these nations because of you; for the **4** LORD your God, he it is that hath fought for you. Behold, I have allotted unto you these nations that remain, to be an inheritance for your tribes, from Jordan, with all the nations that I have cut off, even unto the great

^a That is, Witness.

xxiii. 1-16. *The first farewell address of Joshua.* Joshua addresses the representatives of all Israel, reminding them of his old age (verses 1, 2), and of the completion of Yahweh's work (verse 3). The remaining nations shall be dispossessed (verses 4, 5). Let Israel faithfully obey the Mosaic law of separation from these nations and their gods (verses 6-8). It is Yahweh who has given the victory, and is to be loved (verses 9-11). Marriage alliance with these nations will be punished by their being preserved to Israel's hurt (verses 12, 13). As Yahweh's promises of good have been kept, so will it be with these threats of evil; if Israel worship other gods than Yahweh, His anger will destroy them, even in this Land of Promise (verses 14-16).

This exhortation, clearly Deuteronomic in language and thought throughout, should be compared with the farewell addresses of Moses (Deut. xxviii. f.), which offer frequent parallels.

1. many days: xi. 18, xxii. 3.

given rest: xxii. 4.

well stricken in years: xiii. 1.

2. all Israel: represented by the subordinate rulers (viii. 33; Deut. xxix. 10); the place of the assembly is not stated.

4. these nations that remain: enumerated by this writer in xiii. 2-6. After **from Jordan** the verse shows some disorder; read, with Graetz and Holzinger (cf. Vulg.), 'from all the nations which I have cut off, from Jordan and unto the Great Sea.'

sea toward the going down of the sun. And the LORD 5
 your God, he shall thrust them out from before you, and
 drive them from out of your sight ; and ye shall possess
 their land, as the LORD your God spake unto you.
 Therefore be ye very courageous to keep and to do all 6
 that is written in the book of the law of Moses, that ye
 turn not aside therefrom to the right hand or to the left ;
 that ye come not among these nations, these that remain 7
 among you ; neither make mention of the name of their
 gods, nor cause to swear *by them*, neither serve them, nor
 bow down yourselves unto them : but cleave unto the 8
 LORD your God, as ye have done unto this day. For 9
 the LORD hath driven out from before you great nations
 and strong : but as for you, no man hath stood before
 you unto this day. One man of you ^a shall chase a 10
 thousand : for the LORD your God, he it is that fighteth
 for you, as he spake unto you. Take good heed there- 11
 fore unto yourselves, that ye love the LORD your God.
 Else if ye do in any wise go back, and cleave unto the 12
 remnant of these nations, even these that remain among

^a Or, *hath chased*

6. courageous : rather, ' strong ' (firm), as rendered in i. 6.
the book of the law of Moses : i. 8.

7. make mention : Exod. xxiii. 13.

cause to swear : better, by a change of the vowel points,
 ' swear,' i. e. invoke them in an oath.

Marriage alliance is specially in view (verse 12 : cf. Deut. vii. 3), and the objection to it is based on religious grounds ; in the home of a mixed marriage, the recognition of other gods than Yahweh could hardly be avoided : compare the difficulties of early converts to Christianity, reflected in the N. T. (1 Cor. vii. 12 f.).

10. shall chase : the Hebrew imperfect tense, here employed, is neither future (R. V. text) nor perfect (R. V. marg.), but frequentative = ' would often chase ' (cf. Driver, *Tenses*, § 30). For the figure, see Deut. xxxii. 30 (of Israel's foes chasing Israel), xxviii. 7 : cf. Deut. i. 30, iii. 22.

you, and make marriages with them, and go in unto
 13 them, and they to you: know for a certainty that
 the LORD your God will no more drive these nations
 from out of your sight; but they shall be a snare and
 a trap unto you, and a scourge in your sides, and thorns
 in your eyes, until ye perish from off this good land which
 14 the LORD your God hath given you. And, behold, this
 day I am going the way of all the earth: and ye know
 in all your hearts and in all your souls, that not one
 thing hath failed of all the good things which the LORD
 your God spake concerning you; all are come to pass
 15 unto you, not one thing hath failed thereof. And it shall
 come to pass, that as all the good things are come upon
 you of which the LORD your God spake unto you, so
 shall the LORD bring upon you all the evil things, until
 he have destroyed you from off this good land which the
 16 LORD your God hath given you. When ye transgress
 the covenant of the LORD your God, which he com-
 manded you, and go and serve other gods, and bow
 down yourselves to them; then shall the anger of
 the LORD be kindled against you, and ye shall perish
 quickly from off the good land which he hath given
 unto you.

24 [E] And Joshua gathered all the tribes of Israel to

13. The **snare** is that of verse 7; the **scourge** and the **thorns** (Num. xxxiii. 55) are the continued presence of an alien population in Israel's midst.

14. **the way of all the earth**: so David, speaking of his death to Solomon (1 Kings ii. 2).

16. **transgress the covenant**: vii. 11, 15; **anger**: cf. Deut. xi. 17.

xxiv. 1-28. *The second farewell address of Joshua; ratification of the covenant.* Joshua, addressing Israel at Shechem, reviews in the name of Yahweh the people's history (verses 1-13); the points noticed being the call of Abraham (verse 3) and the fortunes of his descendants (verse 4), the mission of Moses and Aaron, and

Shechem, [R^D] and called for the elders of Israel, and for their heads, and for their judges, and for their officers; [E] and they presented themselves before God. And Joshua said unto all the people, Thus saith the ² LORD, the God of Israel, Your fathers dwelt of old time beyond the River, even Terah, the father of Abraham, and the father of Nahor: and they served other gods.

the deliverance from Egypt (verses 5-7), the victory over the Amorites (verse 8), and the deliverance from Balak and Balaam (verses 9, 10), the victory over the inhabitants of Canaan at Jericho, and the acquisition of their territory (verses 11-13). On the basis of this history Joshua appeals for loyalty to Yahweh; his own choice is made, let Israel choose either the gods of Abraham's ancestors or those of their present environment if they will not serve Yahweh (verses 14, 15). The people reply, confessing the truth of Joshua's review, and professing loyalty to Yahweh (verses 16-18). Joshua warns them of His exclusive claims and the perils of forsaking Him; but the people hold to their profession (verses 19-21), which Joshua embodies in a covenant (verses 22-5), recorded in writing, and marked by a stone of witness (verses 25-7). He then dismisses them (verse 28).

The passage, as a whole, belongs to E (in illustration of the evidence see on verses 1, 2, 11, 12, 23, 26); the chief editorial additions of R^D are indicated in the text. The review of the history is of value for literary criticism, as showing what was included in the E document.

1. Shechem: xvii. 7. xx. 7, xxi. 21; for its character as a sanctuary, prominent in E, see Gen. xxxiii. 20, xxxv. 4: cf. Deut. xxvii. 5 f. and, in this chapter, verses 26, 32: note also 'before God,' at end of this verse. It lies in what G. A. Smith calls 'the only real pass across the range' of central hills running north and south (*H.G.H.L.*, p. 119), and to this he traces its prominence in the earlier history. It is still the centre of the government of the province. The editorial addition (cf. xxiii. 2) characterizes the assembly as representative only.

2 f. Joshua speaks in the name of Yahweh (iii. 9), and therefore 'to verse 13, in the first person, except for the accidental relapse of the writer into the third in verse 7.

beyond the River: i. e. the Euphrates (Gen. xxxi. 21); the term, thus used, is a mark of E. **Terah, Abraham, Nahor:** Gen. xi. 26 f.

other gods: cf. Gen. xxxv. 4 (E), and especially xxxi. 53

- 3 And I took your father Abraham from beyond the River, and led him throughout all the land of Canaan, 4 and multiplied his seed, and gave him Isaac. And I gave unto Isaac Jacob and Esau : and I gave unto Esau mount Seir, to possess it ; and Jacob and his children 5 went down into Egypt. And I sent Moses and Aaron, and I plagued Egypt, according to that which I did in the midst thereof : and afterward I brought you out. 6 And I brought your fathers out of Egypt : and ye came unto the sea ; and the Egyptians pursued after your fathers with chariots and with horsemen unto the Red 7 Sea. And when they cried out unto the LORD, he put darkness between you and the Egyptians, and brought the sea upon them, and covered them ; and your eyes saw what I did in Egypt : and ye dwelt in the wilderness many days. And I brought you into the land of the Amorites, which dwelt beyond Jordan ; and they fought with you : and I gave them into your hand, and ye possessed their land ; and I destroyed them from 9 before you. Then Balak the son of Zippor, king of Moab, arose and fought against Israel ; and he sent and

(E), where the Hebrew ('judge' is in the plural) shows that Nahor's god is distinct from Abraham's. Note the importance of this verse for the O.T. doctrine of revelation. Yahweh elects Abraham from a heathen environment.

3 f. The following references will enable the reader to trace the details of this historical review : (verse 3) Gen. xii ; xvi. 10 ; xxii. 17, xxvi. 4, 24 ; xxi. 1 f. : (verse 4) Gen. xxv. 21 f. ; xxxii. 3 ; xlv. 1 ; (verse 5) Exod. iii, iv. 16 ; **plagued**, *lit.* 'smote' (Exod. viii. 2), vii. 14 f. ; xii. 29-51, xiii. 17 f. ('according to that' yields no adequate sense ; read with LXX, A and Exod. iii. 20, 'with wonders') : (verse 6) Exod. xiv. 2 f. ; xiv. 6 f. (drawings and descriptions of Egyptian chariots of this period in *S.B.O.T.*, p. 422 ; cf. Joshua xi. 6, xvii. 16, note) : (verse 7) Exod. xiv. 10 ; xiv. 19 f. ; xiv. 30, 31 : (verse 8) Num. xxi. 21-5 : (verse 9) Num. xxii-xxiv (cf. Micah vi. 5).

9. fought against Israel : not recorded (contrast Deut. ii. 9)

called Balaam the son of Beor to curse you: but I ¹⁰ would not hearken unto Balaam; therefore he blessed you still: so I delivered you out of his hand. And ye ¹¹ went over Jordan, and came unto Jericho: and the men of Jericho fought against you, [R^D] the Amorite, and the Perizzite, and the Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the Girgashite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite; [E] and I delivered them into your hand. And I sent the hornet ¹² before you, which drave them out from before you, even the two kings of the Amorites; not with thy sword, nor with thy bow. [R^D] And I gave you a land whereon ¹³ thou hadst not laboured, and cities which ye built not, and ye dwell therein; of vineyards and oliveyards which ye planted not do ye eat. [E] Now therefore fear the ¹⁴ LORD, and serve him in sincerity and in truth: and put

Judges xi. 25), though Moab is said to have prepared for battle (Num. xxii. 6, 11).

10. he blessed you still: Hebrew 'he went on blessing you' (cf. Davidson's *Hebrew Syntax*, p. 119); the repeated blessings of Balaam are here regarded as actually instrumental in the deliverance; see on vi. 26, xiv. 13.

11. Here we pass to the period covered by the Book of Joshua itself (iii, iv, v. 10).

the men (of Jericho): *lit.* 'possessors of' (Hebrew *ba'alê*), a characteristic idiom of E.

fought against you: not recorded (cf. vi. 20) in the extant sources; E probably had a different and more historical narrative of the conquest of Canaan.

The names added by R^D (cf. Deut. vii. 1) are intended to include the Canaanite people as a whole in this review of the conquest.

12. hornet: Exod. xxiii. 28 (E), Deut. vii. 20 (note).

the two kings of the Amorites: read (with LXX) 'twelve' for 'two,' the corruption of the Hebrew text being due to confusion with Sihon and Og.

not with thy sword, nor with thy bow: Gen. xlviii. 22 (E); the victory has been won by Yahweh. As Steuernagel points out, this does not disprove the presence of E in battle-narratives, chaps. i-xii.

13. For this editorial addition, cf. Deut. vi. 10 f.

away the gods which your fathers served beyond the
 15 River, and in Egypt ; and serve ye the LORD. And if it
 seem evil unto you to serve the LORD, choose you this
 day whom ye will serve ; whether the gods which your
 fathers served that were beyond the River, or the gods
 of the Amorites, in whose land ye dwell : but as for me
 16 and my house, we will serve the LORD. And the people
 answered and said, God forbid that we should forsake
 17 the LORD, to serve other gods ; for the LORD our God,
 he it is that brought us and our fathers up out of the
 land of Egypt, from the house of ^a bondage, and that did
 those great signs in our sight, and preserved us in all the
 way wherein we went, and among all the peoples through
 18 the midst of whom we passed : and the LORD drave out
 from before us all the peoples, even the Amorites which
 dwelt in the land : therefore we also will serve the LORD ;
 19 for he is our God. And Joshua said unto the people, Ye
 cannot serve the LORD ; for he is an holy God ; he is a

^a Heb. *bondmen*.

14. gods : verse 23 ; probably the teraphim are meant, as in Gen. xxxv. 4 (E), according to which they are buried at Shechem by Jacob.

15. choose you : the choice offered, first between Yahweh and other gods (verse 14), secondly between Aramaean and Amorite gods (verse 15) is severely practical ; which god can help his worshippers most ? This thought underlies the whole of the appeal of Joshua, as well as of Elijah on Carmel (1 Kings xviii. 21).

16. God forbid : (xxii. 29) 'far be it for us.' The people answer ; 'It is Yahweh—our national God—who has done all you say ; **we** (as well as you, emphatic in the Hebrew) will worship Yahwéh' (verse 18).

17. the house of bondage : Exod. xx. 2 (Deut. v. 6) ; Deut. vi. 12, &c. ; properly denoting a place in which slaves are confined ; hence, figuratively, of Egypt. The phrase is characteristic of Deuteronomy, and is absent in LXX.

19. Joshua emphasizes the exclusive and exacting claims of Yahweh.

holy = exalted (not primarily in an ethical sense). Steuer-

jealous God; he will not forgive your transgression nor your sins. If ye forsake the LORD, and serve strange ²⁰ gods, then he will turn and do you evil, and consume you, after that he hath done you good. And the people ²¹ said unto Joshua, Nay; but we will serve the LORD. And Joshua said unto the people, Ye are witnesses ²² against yourselves that ye have chosen you the LORD, to serve him. And they said, We are witnesses. Now ²³ therefore put away, *said he*, the strange gods which are among you, and incline your heart unto the LORD, the God of Israel. And the people said unto Joshua, The ²⁴ LORD our God will we serve, and unto his voice will we hearken. So Joshua made a covenant with the people ²⁵

nagel well compares Isa. v. 16, where Yahweh's 'holiness' is demonstrated by His power of judicial action.

jealous: Exod. xx. 5; Deut. iv. 24 (note).

transgression, sins: those, especially, of verse 20, viz. of disloyalty to Himself (not here in a general sense).

20. strange (gods): 'foreign' (so verse 23), Gen. xxxv. 2 (E); the phrase being characteristic of E.

22. witnesses: i. e. your present testimony will justify your future punishment, should you be disloyal to Yahweh.

And they said, We are witnesses: these words are best omitted, with LXX. The speech of Joshua should continue without a break. As it is, R. V. has to supply 'said he.'

23. put away: verse 14, cf. Gen. xxxv. 2.

25. covenant: Hebrew *berith*, whose Assyrian cognate suggests the root-meaning 'bind' or 'fetter': cf. Deut. iv. 13 (note), xxix. 1 f.; here, as defined in the second half of the verse, an agreement made between Joshua and Israel on the one side and Yahweh on the other, to keep His **statute and ordinance** (Exod. xv. 25) that He alone is to be served. Cf. the Divine covenant with Jehoiada and Israel (2 Kings xi. 17) that they should be Yahweh's people. Such a covenant is, of course, much simpler than the ceremony of Exod. xxiv. 5 f. The interesting conjecture is offered by Meyer (*Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, 1906) that 'the whole idea of a covenant with the national god, of a solemn obligation, has its roots in the cultus of Shechem' (p. 501). He calls attention to the original presence of a covenant-god (Judges ix. 4, 46) at the Canaanite sanctuary of Shechem.

that day, and set them a statute and an ordinance in Shechem.

- 26 And Joshua wrote these words in the book of the law of God; and he took a great stone, and set it up there under the oak that was ^a by the sanctuary of the LORD.
- 27 And Joshua said unto all the people, Behold, this stone shall be a witness against us; for it hath heard all the words of the LORD which he spake unto us: it shall be therefore a witness against you, lest ye deny your God.
- 28 So Joshua sent the people away, every man unto his inheritance.

^a Or, *in*

26. these words: the reference will naturally be to the particulars of the covenant or agreement just made (xxiv. 2 f.). The precise meaning of **the book of the law of God** will depend on the view taken of the authorship of this verse. If the writer were R^D (so Dillmann, following Noeldeke), we should naturally think of the Deuteronomic Law-book; Kuenen thinks we have a reference to some other 'book of law' than the one we know (Hex., p. 156; Bennett assigns the clause to a late priestly redactor, and points out that 'The Book of the Law is regarded here as capable of receiving additions from time to time' (*S.B.O.T.*, p. 92); whilst Holzinger, Staerk, and Steuernagel would place at this point in the original narrative (wholly or partly) the early Law-book, Exod. xxi. 1—xxiii. 19, known as the 'Book of the Covenant.' The evidence does not seem to yield more than such individual conjectures, of which the last-named is perhaps best worth consideration.

a great stone: probably the 'pillar' or *mazzebah* condemned in Deut. xvi. 22 is meant, though here assimilated by E to the worship of Yahweh.

the oak: the form of the word is peculiar to this passage ('*allāh*'), and some would repunctuate to read 'terebinth'; in any case a sacred tree is meant, possibly that called 'the terebinth of the director' in Gen. xii. 6, from the oracular responses given by or in connexion with it. This tree is *in* (R. V. marg.) the sanctuary; possibly the latter came into being round the tree as centre. The same sacred place and tree appear to be mentioned in Gen. xxxiii. 20, xxxv. 4; Deut. xi. 30; Judges ix. 6 (cf. ix. 37): cf. Joshua viii. 33. See on Deut. xvi. 21.

27. witness: xxii. 34; Gen. xxxi. 48: an appeal to such a 'witness' is still made in the East; **it hath heard** points to primitive belief in a spirit dwelling within the stone (fetishism).

And it came to pass after these things, that Joshua the son of Nun, the servant of the LORD, died, being an hundred and ten years old. And they buried him in the border of his inheritance in Timnath-serah, which is in the hill country of Ephraim, on the north of the mountain of Gaash. [R^D] And Israel served the LORD all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that outlived Joshua, and had known all the work of the LORD, that he had wrought for Israel. [E] And the bones of Joseph, which the children of Israel brought up out of Egypt, buried they in Shechem, in the parcel of ground ^a which Jacob bought of the sons of Hamor the father of Shechem for an hundred pieces of money: and they became the inheritance of the children of Joseph. And Eleazar the son of Aaron died; and they buried him in ^b the hill of Phinehas his son, which was given him in the hill country of Ephraim.

^a See Gen. xxxiii. 19.

^b Or, *Gibeah of Phinehas*

xxiv. 29-33. *Concluding Notices.* (a) The death and burial of Joshua (verses 29-30); (b) obedience of Israel during the lifetime of Joshua's contemporaries (verse 31); (c) burial of Joseph's bones (verse 32); (d) death and burial of Eleazar (verse 33).

Verses 28-31 occur, in varied order, in Judges ii. 6-9 also.

30. Timnath-serah: xix. 50 (LXX adds that the stone knives with which he circumcised Israel at Gilgal were buried with him).

32. the bones of Joseph: Gen. i. 25; Exod. xiii. 19.

an hundred pieces of money: the exact meaning of the term used (*kesitāh*) is unknown. This piece of ground 'had the same interest and significance for the northern kingdom which the cave of Machpelah at Hebron had for the kingdom of Judah' (Driver on Gen. xxxiii. 19).

they became, &c.: viz. Shechem and the piece of land; LXX reads, 'and he gave it to Joseph for an inheritance,' which is preferable.

33. the hill of Phinehas: to be taken as a place-name (with R. V. marg.); Gibeath Phinehas may be Jebia, three and a half miles east of Tibneh. It is not included in xxi. 10-18.

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